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EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE SECTION 402
(Freedom of Emigration Requirements)
OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JULY 21, 1980

Printed for the use of the Committee on Finance

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CONTENTS

ADMINISTRATION WITNESS

Page
Ridgway, Hon. Rozanne L., counselor, Department of State 14

PUBLIC WITNESSES

American-Romanian Cultural Foundation, Barbu Niculescu, chairman, accompanied by Thad Lempicki, vice chairman 217
American Transylvanian Association, Tamas A. de Kun, executive vice president 345
Atalanta Corp., Mark Sandstrom, attorney, and Maurice Boschy, vice president 258
B'nai B'rith International Council, Warren Eisenberg, director, accompanied by George Spectre, associate director 206
Baboyian, H. K., vice president, UOP Inc., accompanied by Peter Afanasenko, corporate representative 260
Birnbaum, Jacob, national director, Center for East European and Russian Jewry, the Very Rev. Florian M. Galdau, chairman, The American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Mr. Cyrus Gilbert Abbe, attorney 105
Brown, Preston, attorney on behalf of the International Commodities Export Co., accompanied by Hon. Clifford P. Case former U.S. Senator 262
Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Donald J. Hasfuther, director of East-West trade 257
Chilewich Corp., Simon Chilewich, president 261
Chilewich Simon, president, Simon Chilewich Corp 261
Committee of Human Rights in Romania, Laszlo Hamos, chairman 274
de Kun, Tamas A., executive vice president, American Transylvanian Association 345
Eisenberg, Warren, director, B'nai B'rith International Council, accompanied by George Spectre, associate director 206
Gans Stephen, president, VITCO 262
Hamos, Laszlo, chairman, the Committee of Human Rights in Romania 274
Hasfuther, Donald J., director for East-West trade, Chamber of Commerce of the United States 257
Havadtoy, Alexander Dr., on behalf of the Hungarian American Community in Connecticut, The Human Rights Commission of the United Church of Christ, and Human Rights Commission of the World Reformed Presbyterian Alliance North American and Caribbean Area 276
International Commodities Export Co., Preston Brown, attorney, accompanied by Hon. Clifford P. Case, former U.S. Senator 262
Jackson, Hon. Henry M., a U.S. Senator from the State of Washington 12
Niculescu, Barbu, chairman, American-Romanian Cultural Foundation, accompanied by Thad Lempicki, vice chairman 217
Rockwell International, Arthur P. Ronan, president, axle group 249
Ronan, Arthur P., president, Rockwell International, axle group 249
Sandstrom, Mark, attorney, on behalf of the Atalanta Corp., accompanied by Maurice Boschy, vice president, The Atalanta Corp 258
UOP. Inc., H. K. Baboyian, vice president, accompanied by Peter Afanasenko, corporate representative 260
VITCO, Stephen Gans, president 262

COMMUNICATIONS

AFL-CIO, Ray Denison, director, department of legislation 353
African Americal Cultural Gardens Association Booker T. Tall 490

Page

Allied Industrial Workers of America, Dominick D'Ambrosio, international president ... 408
Amnesty International ... 355
Apostoliu, Dimitrie G., president, The American-Romanian National Committee for Human Rights ... 474
Arcan, Ana ... 452
Atlantic Chemical Corp., Bernard Rabinowitz ... 359
Austin, Paul, chairman of the board, the Coca-Cola Co ... 410
Azamfir, Petru ... 433
Badescu, Roxana ... 435
Baesu, Constantin ... 436
Barbarosie Cornel ... 453
Barbu, Ariana Ligia ... 434
Brandusescu, Gheorghe ... 454
Borden, Stanley P., association minister, the Cleveland Baptist Association ... 491
Bot, Viorel ... 469
Carabelaian Aneta ... 437
Caracaoancea, Matei ... 465
Cerbu, Ieronim ... 455
Chiu, Atena ... 438
Cleveland Baptist Association, Stanley P. Borden, association minister ... 491
Coca-Cola Co., Paul Austin, chairman of the board ... 410
Colony, a Lancaster Colony Co., William Lombardo, import manager ... 411
Committee of Transylvania, Inc., Louis L. Lote, president ... 398
Congressional Research Service, the Library of Congress ... 390
Constantinescu Ghiocel Ionel ... 439
Cosmi, Emil, Ionel and Titu ... 468
Coste, Brutus, The Truth About Romania Committee ... 364
Crisan, George ... 492
D'Ambrosio, Dominick, international president, Allied Industrial Workers of America ... 408
Denison, Ray, director, department of legislation, AFL-CIO ... 353
Dinu, Maria ... 440
Dodd, Christopher J., a U.S. Representative from Connecticut and other Congressmen ... 494
Draghiceanu, Nicolae ... 449
Droganici, Ilie ... 441
Faur Petru ... 456
Fleseriu, Victor ... 457
Galdau, F. M., the Very Rev., chairman, The American Romanian Committee For Assistance To Refugees ... 480
Gereben, Istvan B., executive secretary, the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America ... 380
Ionescu, Eugene, member of the French Academy ... 368
Ionescu, Ion ... 458
Ionescu, Nicolae, Ambassador, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania ... 361
Ionita, Gabriela ... 442
Khalily Edward, Wego General Trading, Inc ... 363
Letters from Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum ... 429
Lisca, Ion ... 443
Lombardo, William, import manager, Colony a Lancaster Colony Co ... 411
Lote, Louis L., president, Committee of Transylvania, Inc ... 398
Martin, Mircea ... 459
Merrigan, Edward L., on behalf of John Tudor ... 508
Monsieur Henri Wines Ltd., G. Lawrence Soll, vice president ... 360
Mutica, Adrian ... 444
National Agricultural Chemical Association, William A. White, vice president ... 483
National Foreign Trades Council, Inc., Richard W. Roberts, president ... 397
National Machine Tool Builders' Association ... 498
Negreanu, Emanuel ... 460
Negut, Gheorghe ... 461
Pavel, Dan G., M.D ... 513
Pilon, Juliana Ceran ... 412
Pop, Dimitrie ... 462
Pora, Gabriel ... 445
Potra, Gavril ... 463
Preda, Gabriel ... 446

READEX
FICHE

Page
Prudential Lines, Inc., Martin F. Ytuarte, executive vice president 471
Rabinowitz, Bernard, Atlantic Chemical Corp 359
Roberts, Richard W., president, National Foreign Trade Council, Inc 397
Safiano, Isidore Barger 482, 504
Serban, Mircea 464
Soll, G. Lawrence, vice president, Monsieur Henri Wines Ltd 360
Sredojev, Vastle 447
Stanciu, Virgil V 415
Stirbu, Viorle 470
Stoica, Ion 450
Streche, Aurel 448
Tall, Booker T., African America Cultural Gardens Association 490
Tatar, Mircea 466
The American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees, The Very Rev. F. M. Galdau, chairman 480
The American-Romanian National Committee for Human Rights, Dimitrie G. Apostoliu; president 474
The Truth About Romania Committee 372
Tremurici, Romica 467
Visa Valeriu 451
Wego General Trading, Inc., Edward Khalily 363
White, William A., vice president, National Agricultural Chemicals Association 483
Ytuarte, Martin F., executive vice president, Prudential Lines, Inc 471

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Committee press release 2
Press release from Senator Abe Ribicoff 5
Letter from Senator Abe Ribicoff 8
Ionescu, Nicolas Ambassador, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania 9
Statement of Hon. Rozanne Ridgway, Counselor of the Department of State 25
Statement of Hon. Herbert E. Horowitz, Director of the Office of East-West Economic Policy, Department of the Treasury 47
Statement of John E. Ray, Assistant U.S. trade Representative for Bilateral Relations 86
Statement of Senator Robert Dole 93
Statements and documents of Senator John Heinz 99
Letters from Senator Bob Dole 125
Letters from the Romanian Ambassador Nicolae Ionescu 131, 148
Letter from Senator Daniel P. Moynihan 137
Letter from U.S. Congressman Rosenthal of New York 138
Letter from U.S. Congressman Vanik of Ohio 145
Amnesty International Briefing, Romania 157
Letter from Senator Frank Church 184
Statement of Cyrus Gilbert Abbe 186
Statement of The Very Rev. Florian M. Galdau 202
Statement of Jack J. Spitzer 208
Statement of Barbu Niculescu 220
Statement of the Romanian Christian Committee 227
Statement of A. P. Ronan 252
Statement by Donald J. Hasfuther, Chamber of Commerce of the United States 264
Statement of Preston Brown Esq 269
Statement of Simon Chilewich 271
Statement of Committee for the Human Rights in Romania 281
Statement of Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy 340
Statement of American-Transylvanian Association 347

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EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE SECTION 402 (FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION REQUIREMENTS) OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974

MONDAY, JULY 21, 1980

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:02 a.m., in room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Abraham Ribicoff (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Ribicoff, Byrd, Danforth, and Dole.

[The press release announcing this hearing follows:]

Press Release #H-36

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 7, 1980

UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building

FINANCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE TO HOLD HEARING ON CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE TRADE ACT FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION PROVISIONS

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff (D., Ct.), Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, today announced that the Subcommittee will hold a public hearing on continuing the President's authority to waive the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402, the freedom of emigration provision, of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618). The hearing will be held at 10:00 a.m., Monday, July 21, 1980, in Room 2221 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Chairman Ribicoff noted that on May 28, 1980, the President transmitted to the Congress his recommendation, under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act, that the waiver authority be extended 12 months to July 3, 1981. This recommendation was based on his determination under section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act that the extension of the waiver authority will substantially promote the objectives of freedom of emigration in general and, in particular, in the cases of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China.

The Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China are the only nonmarket economy countries which have been granted nondiscriminatory (most-favored-nation (MFN)) trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974, Chairman Ribicoff said. He noted that the granting of MFN trade treatment to a country under the Trade Act was conditioned on compliance with the freedom of emigration provisions of that law, but that the law permitted the President to waive the emigration conditions with respect to a country, subject to Congressional review.

The Chairman said that the President's recommendation on May 28, 1980, set in motion a schedule of procedures by which the Congress may either terminate, by adoption of a simple resolution in either House, or permit by inaction the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the freedom of emigration condition on MFN treatment. The waiver authority may be terminated generally or with respect to particular countries. Congressional action to terminate the waiver authority, if any, must occur on or before September 1, 1980, he said. After that date, if Congress has taken no action, the waiver authority is automatically extended until July 3, 1981.

Requests to testify.--Chairman Ribicoff advised that witnesses desiring to testify during this hearing must make their request to testify in writing to Michael Stern, Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Room 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, not later than Wednesday, July 16, 1980. Witnesses will be notified as soon as possible after this date as to whether they will be scheduled to appear. If for some reason a witness is unable to appear at the time scheduled, he may file a written statement for the record of the hearing in lieu of a personal appearance.

Consolidated testimony.--Chairman Ribicoff also stated that the Subcommittee urges all witnesses who have a common position or the same general interest to consolidate their testimony and designate a single spokesman to present the common viewpoint orally to the Subcommittee. This procedure will enable the Subcommittee to receive a wider expression of views than it might otherwise obtain. Chairman Ribicoff urged very strongly that all witnesses exert a maximum effort to consolidate and coordinate their statements.

Legislative Reorganization Act.--Chairman Ribicoff also observed that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and the rules of the Committee require witnesses appearing before the Committees of Congress to file in advance written statements of their proposed testimony and to limit oral presentations to brief summaries of their arguments.

He stated that in light of this statute and the rules, and in view of the large number of witnesses who are likely to desire to appear before the Subcommittee in the limited time available for the hearing, all witnesses who are scheduled to testify must comply with the following rules:

1. All witnesses must include with their written statements a one-page summary of the principal points included in the statement.
2. The written statements must be typed on letter-size (not legal size) paper and at least 100 copies must be delivered to Room 2227 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building not later than the close of business on Friday, July 18, 1980.
3. Witnesses are not to read their written statements to the Subcommittee, but are to confine their oral presentations to a summary of the points included in the statement.
4. No more than 5 minutes will be allowed for the oral summary.

Witnessses who fail to comply with these rules will forfeit their privilege to testify.

Written statements.--Witnesses who are not scheduled to make an oral presentation, and others who desire to present their views to the Subcommittee, are urged to prepare a written statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearing. These written statements should be submitted to Michael Stern, Staff Director, Committee on Finance, Room 2227 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building not later than Monday, August 4, 1980.

Senator RIBICOFF. The committee will be in order.

The Committee on International Trade will receive testimony on continuing the President's general authority to waive the application of the Freedom of Emigration provisions of section 417 of the Trade Act of 1974, as well as a continuation of the exercise of that authority with respect to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. These three countries are the only countries to receive most-favored-nation treatment under the Trade Act, and continuation of the waivers with respect to them is necessary if they are to continue to receive such treatment.

Last week I was informed by the Romanian Government that 18 long-standing emigration cases were finally being resolved. These are special cases, because those involved were arrested, according to the Romanian letter to me, for so-called economic crimes. These persons were sentenced to long prison terms, which were subsequently converted to heavy fines.

All were denied the right to emigrate. Now their fines have been remitted, and those seeking to emigrate can now leave the country. Without objection, the letter from the Romanian Government to this effect will be placed in the record at this point.

[The material referred to follows:]

From Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-Conn.)
Release AM Friday, July 4, 1980
Romanian dissidents

The Romanian government has informed Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-Conn.) that eight political dissidents, arrested for so-called economic crimes, will no longer be punished and may now apply to emigrate.

Senator Ribicoff has been working for more than two years to achieve emigration status for this group of eight plus 10 others who have sought to emigrate for several years. He said he is encouraged by this action but urged Romania to allow the remaining 10 men and women to emigrate as well.

The group of eight were found guilty of so-called economic crimes in the 1960's, imprisoned and, upon release, required to pay the government one-third of their salaries or pensions.

It was reported that a decree of June 8, 1978 pardoned eight of the Romanians but no proof of this was ever put forward. The U. S. government's decision to grant Most Favored Nation status to Romania for 1978 and 1979 was influenced by Romania's assurances that the pardon decree would be implemented.

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade, Senator Ribicoff urged the Romanians to confirm that all 18 dissidents were free to emigrate. Senator Ribicoff told the Romanians that their request for continued Most Favored Nation trading status with the U. S. would be more favorably received if they treated those seeking to emigrate more fairly. A test of this attitude, he said, would be the decision to let the group emigrate. This group of eight originally included a ninth member, Adalbert Rossinger, whose case became internationally known. Senator Ribicoff was instrumental in Romania's decision to allow Rossinger to emigrate in 1978.

On June 18, 1980, Senator Ribicoff wrote to Nicolae Ionescu, the Romanian ambassador to the U.S., to point out that, while assurances had been given for two years, the question of what had happened to the group of 18 was still in doubt. Senator Ribicoff asked if the dissidents were no longer required to make the payments to the government and were free to emigrate.

Ambassador Ionescu replied in a June 30, 1980 letter to Senator Ribicoff to say that eight Romanians had been recently relieved of the requirement to make the payments to the government and that they are free to apply to emigrate.

Trade with the U.S. is economically and politically important to Romania. In 1979, the Department of Commerce approved 38 export licenses to allow for the sale to Romania of high technology goods such as jet engines, computers and computer parts.

U.S. officials believe Romania considers access to U. S. high technology oil exploration and coal extraction equipment a national objective of top priority.

Despite formal assurances to the contrary, Romania has yet to implement a consistent emigration policy, Senator Ribicoff said. The process of issuing exit visas is arbitrary, lengthy and complex, he said, explaining that the process itself is so difficult that it deters persons who want to emigrate.

Attached are Senator Ribicoff's letter of June 18, Ambassador Ionescu's reply of June 30 and a list of the 18 dissidents. The first eight are affected by the recent action and may now apply to emigrate.

#

EMIGRATION CASES

Georghe Manheim

Beniamin Schwartz

Alexandru Rado

Mihai Crainic

Paul Stefanescu

Sidonia Grigorescu

Alexandru Costin

Angelo Khimbsbruner

Victoria Wexler

Ghidali Abraham

Anna Blum

Nathan Pleischer

Sara Faibish

Bernat Morsky

Parischeva Pal

Isidor Reichman

Herman Rubinger

Ottilia Scheener

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. [illegible]

June 18, 1980

His Excellency
Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador of the
Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am writing to you regarding a number of outstanding emigration cases which I have discussed with Romanian officials for more than two years.

It has been my understanding, on the basis of both conversations and a letter from former Ambassador Nicolae, that those individuals pardoned by Decree Number 131 of June 8, 1978 would receive permission to emigrate.

In addition, it was my understanding that a number of other persons, in similar circumstances to those mentioned in the June Decree, would receive official pardon and therefore no longer be obligated to pay one-third of their salaries or pensions to the State and would receive permission to emigrate.

During the past year, my staff on several occasions has brought this matter to the attention of your staff. I consider these outstanding cases a serious issue. The extension of Most Favored Nation trading status for Romania in 1978 and 1979 was based on Romanian emigration policies including the June Decree.

I would appreciate knowing the status of each case mentioned in the attached list and whether these individuals still have official debts to the State and have been notified of their eligibility to emigrate.

Sincerely,

signed AR

Abe Ribicoff

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 3o, 198o

The Honorable
Abraham Ribicoff
U.S.Senator
337 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Ribicoff:

Reference to your letter of June 18, 198o I would like to inform you that the persons who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes, known as the Rosinger group, have been recently relieved of the monthly payments due to the State. Accordingly, they are no longer obligated to pay one third of their salaries or pensions to the State.

It is my understanding that now, being relieved of the payments, those of the above-mentioned who wish to emigrate can now apply for emmigration.

Most sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 14, 198o

The Honorable
Abraham Ribicoff
U.S. Senator
337 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Ribicoff:

Reference to your letter of June 18, 198o I would like to inform you the following:

I. By Decree of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania of June 26, 198o, the following persons who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes were relieved of the monthly payments to the State:

- SAMI EDELSTEIN
- PAVEL DONATH
- MICU SUZIN
- MILEA VULICH
- OTTILIA SCHENER (MINTZER)
- ANA BLUM
- VIORICA WEXLER (VRINCEANU)
- ALEXANDRU RADO
- MIHAI CRAINIC
- BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ

./.

- ALEXANDRU COSTIN
- STEFANESCU PAUL
- SIDONIA GRIGORESCU
- ANGELO KHINSBRUNER
- GEORGE MANHEIM
- BERNAT MORSKI
- ISIDOR REICHMAN
- GHIDALI ABRAHAM

II. Ana Blum, Benjamin Schwartz and Viorica Wexler (Vrinceanu) requested to leave the country and they have been already granted the approval to leave.

III. Parischeva Pal has already left the country.

IV. The cases of Nathan Fleischer and Herman Rubinger are under active consideration.

However, this Embassy would welcome very much to receive any available data on the above-mentioned cases, in order to be able to speed up the process of their solution.

V. Sara Faibish who had requested to leave the country has recently renounced to leave.

Sincerely yours,

N. Ionescu

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

Senator RIBICOFF. Despite assurances to the contrary, Romania has yet to implement a consistent emigration policy. The process of issuing exit visas can be arbitrary, lengthy, and complex. For many would-be emigrants the process of applying is so difficult that it deters persons who want to emigrate.

I believe these sentiments are shared by many other members of this committee and the Senate.

With respect to emigration to the United States, Israel, and other countries, this committee will look in the coming year for the implementation of improved procedures for new emigrants and the successful resolution of other long-standing emigration cases.

We have an exceptionally long witness list today, and limited time in which to receive the testimony. All the witnesses are aware of the time limitation applicable to their presentations, and we definitely are going to stay within those limitations, if everyone is to get a chance to testify. Any longer written statement related to your oral presentation will be accepted into the record of this hearing without objection.

Our first witness is Senator Jackson, who is so intimately involved and so knowledgeable on this entire subject, and we welcome you today, Senator Jackson.

STATEMENT OF HON. HENRY M. JACKSON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Senator JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, Senator Byrd, thank you for this opportunity to present my views on the extension of our present trading relationship with China, Romania, and Hungary.

As my colleagues know, the Chinese-American relationship has come a long way. We have seen the admission of the People's Republic to the United Nations, President Nixon's visit to China and the Shanghai Communique, the establishment of liaison offices, the lifting of the ban on direct trade with China, cultural and scholarly exchanges, visits by government leaders, the normalization of relations and the exchange of ambassadors, and the coming into force of the United States-China Trade Agreement providing for the extension of most-favored-nation treatment and access to official credits.

Today our relations with the People's Republic are comprehensive and complex. China is a developing nation which looks to us as a source of strength in order to counterbalance the strength of the Soviets—now their principal adversary.

They want from us technology, capital, and expertise to accelerate their modernization. The United States is a developed country which looks on China as a counterweight to the Soviet Union, a potentially significant source of stability in Asia, and a likely and tantalizing market.

China's leaders explicitly recognize shared and parallel interests with us, with our NATO allies, and with Japan. They are playing an important strategic role in world affairs, including the effort to deter Soviet expansionism in Southeast and South Asia.

The fact is, the United States has an important stake in the continuing existence of a strong and independent China. The United States' cooperation with the People's Republic in its effort to become a modern industrial state and to work with her leaders where our strategic and bilateral concerns run parallel are in American as well as Chinese interests.

As this committee knows, I strongly supported the United States-China Trade Agreement providing for the extension of most-favored-nation treatment and access to official credits. It has laid the foundation for the expansion of trade and financial ties between our two countries, with major mutual benefits. It assures the U.S. firms a better position to compete with firms from other nations.

Moreover, the People's Republic chose cooperation with us in providing the assurances regarding its future emigration practices called for as a condition of the waiver of Jackson-Vanik. And this cooperation is enhancing the personal liberty for many Chinese wishing to go abroad and contributing to the economic advance of the Chinese people.

Over the last 12 months, China has demonstrated its commitment to freer emigration by simplifying the procedures for obtaining exit permission, and by its humanitarian resolution of long-standing hardship cases involving separated American-Chinese families. In fact, our own numerical limitation of 20,000 immigrants per country per year is a larger impediment to Chinese emigration to America than the performance of the People's Republic.

Indeed, a large backlog of Chinese already in Hong Kong wish to join their relatives in this country and the backlog is not diminishing.

Given these considerations, I support extension of the waiver applicable to the People's Republic of China as requested by President Carter.

Mr. Chairman, I also support the continuation of the waivers applicable to Romania and to Hungary as requested by the President.

I wish to underline today the continuing American interest in the existence of a politically strong Romania capable of an independent role on key foreign policy issues. Romania and the United States share mutual and parallel interests on many international matters. There are numerous tasks on which we can work together.

It is in our national interest to encourage Romania—as well as Hungary and other East European countries—effectively to assert its legitimate right as a sovereign state to greater freedom in the face of Kremlin pressures and dominant Soviet military power.

Romania was the first country to cooperate with us in accepting the terms of the Jackson-Vanik amendment as the basis of increased trade with the United States. In reviewing the record of the last year, I am happy to see that there has been an increase over previous years in the number of those permitted to emigrate, and also a less fluctuating rate of departure.

There remain concerns in this area which we need to impress upon the Romanian Government.

It is very important for the Romanian leadership to move expeditiously to resolve remaining long-standing hardship cases. Beyond this, as I continue to emphasize in discussions with Romanian officials, and as the chairman has likewise done, the Romanian emigration application process needs to be shortened and simplified, and all harassment should be stopped. In this way, the numbers leaving would more closely correspond to those who really wish to emigrate.

As this committee is well aware, in its concern for international human rights, the Congress has particularly emphasized the right to emigrate. Of all the individual liberties contained in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements, none is more fundamental than the right to emigrate. It is not interference in the internal affairs of another nation to encourage respect for the right to emigrate, which has been affirmed in international law.

Mr. Chairman, may I say to you as an initial cosponsor of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, you can take profound satisfaction as our amendment encourages greater respect for freer emigration. I count it a high privilege to have worked with you from the beginning in this historic endeavor.

Over the years, Mr. Chairman, you have played a leading part in the struggle for internationally recognized personal rights. As you can guess, we are counting on your ongoing help in the period ahead as you assume new responsibilities in the private world.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much, Senator Jackson.

Senator Byrd?

Senator BYRD. I think Senator Jackson made a fine statement. I have no questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much. I think you've got a very busy week ahead of you anyway, Senator Jackson. You ought to go to it.

Senator JACKSON. That's what they tell me.

Thank you.

Senator RIBICOFF. The next panel will consist of the Honorable Rozanne L. Ridgway, Mr. Herbert Horowitz, Mr. Mishell George, Mr. John Ray, and if there are any other people accompanying you, they should be identified when they are with you at the table.

You may proceed, Miss Ridgway.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROZANNE L. RIDGWAY, COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Miss RIDGWAY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

We recognize the pressures on time today, and I have a prepared statement as do the other members of the panel which, if you would permit, would be submitted for the record. My panel members will also be prepared to respond to questions concerning trade with respect to these three countries. My own statement, as I say, would be a part of the record, if you would permit.

Senator RIBICOFF. Without objection. Automatically, all full statements will be made a part of the record. It will not be necessary to ask as each individual statement is presented.

Miss RIDGWAY. I do have an excerpt of my statement. I am pleased to have the opportunity today to testify on behalf of further extension of the President's waiver authority under section 402 of the Trade Act, and specifically his authority to continue the waivers permitting most favored nation tariff treatment for the People's Republic of China, Hungary, and Romania.

The extension of the waiver for China represents a first for that country, following the entry into force on February 1, 1980, of the United States-China Trade Agreement.

The President's waiver authority has proven to be a valuable device for furthering U.S. interests with Romania and Hungary, and we believe that it will also prove so in the case of China.

We are particularly pleased with the recent development of our relations with China. The United States-China Trade Agreement marked a significant step toward establishing a normal trade and economic relationship between our two countries. Normal economic interchange with China is an essential element of our overall relations with Beijing.

Our objectives in furthering and expanding relations with China are to build meaningful political, cultural, and economic relations. All of these objectives, we believe, will work to the mutual benefit of our countries.

With respect to emigration, Chinese Government policy is to facilitate applications by Chinese either to go abroad or to return to China. In accordance with this policy, substantially increased numbers of people have been authorized to leave China in the last 2 years. In the past 12 months, for instance, over 75,000 Chinese have entered Hong Kong, the primary exit point, with Chinese Government exit permission.

Thus, performance has accorded with policy.

Turning to Romania and Hungary, I would like to state briefly the general policy considerations on which our relations with the countries of Eastern Europe are based. We continue to encourage a broad range of commercial, economic, political, and cultural relations with Hungary and Romania, and with the other Eastern European countries as well. We require only that, as we have in the past, there be reciprocity and respect for our concerns.

We expect that the continuation of our efforts to expand relations with the individual Eastern European countries will provide the necessary framework within which to carry out more open and productive exchanges on many topics, including human rights, which are of interest to us. The continued expansion of trade and economic cooperation is also of direct benefit to U.S. industrial and agricultural producers and to U.S. consumers.

We continue to have basic disagreements with the governments of Eastern Europe on a wide range of questions dealing with political and religious freedoms, as well as with interpretations of basic human and social values. However, an activist policy of political, economic, and cultural exchange with these countries is a means of encouraging change and building on the diversity which has become more evident over the years.

Specifically concerning Romania, we believe that it is in our best interest to encourage Romania's determination to maintain its distinctive, independent posture within the Warsaw Pact. Romania has persevered in its commitment to formulate its own foreign policy.

The numerous exchanges and high-level visits which we have conducted with Romania since the last hearings have afforded us new opportunity to emphasize our attachment to freedom of emigration, and to respect for all human rights. We believe that these discussions have produced significant results.

We are well aware that many of Romania's policies do not conform with our own. However, the willingness of the Romanian Government to discuss various aspects of human rights questions represents a significant development.

U.S. trade with Romania, as will be elaborated in the testimony of colleagues presented for the record, has grown and diversified considerably since the granting of MFN.

Turning to Hungary, I am pleased to note that the constructive dialog which has characterized United States-Hungarian relations since the return to Budapest of the crown of St. Steven and the conclusion in 1978 of our bilateral trade agreement continues. Overall, there is a balance of interests and results.

Hungarian performance on emigration has continued to be positive. The number of problem cases outstanding at any one time remains small, and Hungary's record in resolving problem cases continues to be quite good.

United States-Hungarian economic relations show promise of continued expansion to the benefit of both countries.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we believe that the continuation in effect of the waiver for China is essential for the future development of a cooperative relationship with that country, and similarly, we believe that continuation of the waivers is also fully justified with respect to Romania and Hungary, in view of the emigration records of both countries.

It is apparent that the impact on our relations with these countries of MFN tariff treatment and the other trade and economic relationships which flow from our bilateral trade agreements has been most beneficial. These relationships are also an essential element in our ability to continue to develop broad and meaningful contacts, both in the political and economic areas.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. I have a series of questions to ask the administration. Many of the witnesses might like to comment on these questions. In order to save time, I will ask these questions of the administration. If there is any disagreement by any witness with their responses, if any witness that would like to comment on the answers given by the administration, they should feel free to do so when their time comes to testify. I don't intend to ask these questions twice.

Is there a backlog of Jewish emigrants in Romania?

Miss RIDGWAY. Yes, there is, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. How large?

Miss RIDGWAY. It is quite large. The pattern that we are seeing through 1979 and in 1980 is of an approval rate considerably higher than the actual emigration rate. I am having trouble finding exactly the right number. Because as best we can understand there are family reasons for delaying departure after approval for emigration, there are problems associated with the clearing up of the requirements for departure.

Mr. Chairman, if you would allow me to ask one of the staff members who knows this figure better than I do what the number is on the backlog.

Senator Ribicoff. Certainly. [Pause.]

While I am proceeding, they might be able to get that material for you.

Why has this problem not been solved?

Miss Ridgway. The answer, sir, on the previous question, is between 700 and 800 cases of backlog.

I don't have an answer to that, Mr. Chairman. It is a question we have taken up often with Romanian representatives. I have, myself. And there is a sense that there will always be a backlog because of these different personal requirements.

We tend to accept that as at least part of the answer, but certainly not all of the answer. I do not know why the number should be allowed to get so large.

Senator Ribicoff. It would seem to me that there ought to be some understanding worked out between the State Department representatives, our Embassy in Romania, and the Romanians, and we should not have to wait just prior to each one of these hearings, then have these private conferences between myself and the Romanian authorities, and then wait for the last moment, and then they release some worthy case, and then it happens again next year.

It would seem that this ought to be able to be regularized. We have been doing this for such a long time, and I don't think it should be done under the gun, so to speak. Everybody ought to know where they stand.

Miss Ridgway. I agree entirely, Mr. Chairman, and find that the patterns indeed detract from what positive achievements have been made in this area. I know your discussions with Romanian officials and my own have emphasized that this should not be allowed to go on, but when the date for the MFN hearings arrives, the figures seem to have patterns that, as I say, detract from the overall positive record.

Senator Ribicoff. During the next year, what would be a reasonable expectation for total emigration from Romania to the United States, to Israel, or to other countries?

Miss Ridgway. Well, we are running now at a rate that has been approximately somewhere between 1,000 and 1,200 to the United States, and something under that for Israel. We have begun to structure the presentation of the figures to take account of the very important meeting which representatives of the major American Jewish organizations had in Bucharest in July of 1979.

So we have been looking at years which run July through the end of June in the hope that the very positive outcome of that meeting which has been registered with us by the representatives of the organization would continue. Using that same calendar year, July 1–June 30, I would expect something between 1,000 and 1,200 for the United States and perhaps in that same range for Israel.

Senator Ribicoff. Yes. I notice here in the last 6 months of calendar year 1979, 670 Romanian Jews immigrated to Israel while in the first 6 months of 1980, 421 immigrated.

Is there any explanation for that variable from one 6-month period to the other?

Miss Ridgway. That is the consideration I mentioned, Mr. Chairman, of the need to finish the school year, and if indeed that is the explanation, then one would expect that sometime in August one would start to see a change in the pattern. That is, the school year is out, the children in the family leave school, the work is completed on divesting oneself of one's Romanian interests, and departure becomes a fact.

We are inclined to believe that, but we haven't seen the August figures yet which would give substance to it.

Senator Ribicoff. What would you consider a reasonable expectation for next year, the number of emigrants? What would you consider a reasonable expectation of total emigration from Romania?

Miss Ridgway. Well, I think that with, approximately somewhere between 2,000 and 2,600 to the United States and Israel, and a substantially larger figure to the Federal Republic, I think that we would come somewhere under the figure. I should think that the total number should be appoximately 10,000.

Senator Ribicoff. Do you think there is any chance for anything like that? That is your expectation. Now, I would love to hold you to that.

Miss Ridgway. Well, I would accept the charge, Mr. Chairman, if I thought I had a large degree of success. What I would like to do is take that as a target and continue to work on such things as the backlog.

Senator Ribicoff. Your good fortune will be that I won't be around next year to hold you to it, but maybe my successor or the staff will remember this.

Now, let me ask you this. No one seems to be in agreement as to the census, the number of the Jewish community in Romania.

Is there anybody that has got an idea of how many there are? It is not such a large country. Can't they figure out how many people, how many Jews there actually are remaining in Romania?

Miss Ridgway. Mr. Chairman, they cannot. The range is 25,000 to 70,000. In some cases people say 100,000. We are inclined to accept a figure somewhat above 25,000.

Senator Ribicoff. Don't they take a census there, an accurate census in Romania?

Miss Ridgway. I don't know. I would be happy to provide the answer to that on their census practices.

Senator Ribicoff. I think you could ascertain what are their census procedures, how often do they have a census, what questions are asked? I believe it would be a good thing to put into the record—just what the census procedures are and how they are ascertained.

[The information referred to follows:]

Answer. Romania takes a census roughly every ten years after specific authorization by the Council of Ministers. The survey is directed by a National Demographic Commission, directly subordinate to the Council. After information is collected, it is given to the Central Statistical Directorate, which publishes its findings in the government's "Statistical Yearbook". The last three censuses were taken in 1956, 1966, and 1977.

Large numbers of volunteers are marshalled to distribute four-page questionnaires to households throughout the country. There are questions on the form soliciting information on each citizen's place and date of birth, legal residence, sex, date of arrival in new locality, marital status, family size, educational history, occupation, place of work, ethnic background (nationality), and mother tongue.

We have not been able to determine precisely how the Romanian government computes its statistics on individual religious bodies. We know, however, that Jews have been traditionally classified as an "ethnic" rather than a "religious" group in Romanian census counts.

Published census figures for 1956 show a total of 146,000 Jews in Romania. The 1966 census total gave a figure of 42,488 Jews. The official government census taken in 1977 gives a figure of only 25,686 Jews. Rabbi Moses Rosen, the leading rabbi in Romania and spokesman for the Romanian Jewish community, arrived at a completely different figure of 35,000 when he conducted his own census of the Jewish population in the same year (1977). Rosen's figures are based on a canvass of Jewish communities in 70 different locations in Romania. Our Embassy has no independent means of verifying these statistic.

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you, would you discuss the implementation of the agreement worked out between American Jewish organizations and the Romanian Government on emigration procedures?

Miss RIDGWAY. Mr. Chairman, I can touch the highlights of that and would be happy to provide a very complete statement or description for the record.

One of the major concerns that lay behind the discussions was the sense that those who wished to emigrate to Israel could not be identified without in the very first instance causing problems for themselves, and that therefore there was a reluctance to come forward and to be counted among those who wished to emigrate. Beyond that, those who did wish to emigrate somehow were not able to have, if you will, an interested party follow the progress of their procedures, the progress of their applications to leave.

The agreement worked out was that notification would be posted often, regularly, with frequency in the synagogues and meeting places so that those who wished to emigrate would know what the procedures were and could be assured that in stepping forward and putting their names on a list, that indeed immediately there was an interest identified.

We have those lists, and as people begin the procedures, we insist on keeping track of each case.

The remainder of the procedures, of course, are between the applicant, the Romanian Government and the Israel Embassy in Bucharest, and the procedures they have worked out I am not party to.

But we have, if you will, now a much more accurate watching brief resource in that we know the names of those who wish to emigrate, and we feel confident, as I am informed by those who were represented in these talks that we now have a way of insuring that those who wish to emigrate can put their names forward with some confidence that there will be help along the way.

Senator RIBICOFF. It seems to me that during the next year there ought to be an attempt, you know, and don't wait until a month before the hearing—but once these hearings are concluded, to thoughtfully and carefully work out improved procedural methods and rules and regulations to expedite the emigration policy.

I know how difficult this is and I know how sensitive it is. The Romanians have come a long way, but it really is like pulling teeth.

Miss RIDGWAY. Our description of their procedures, Mr. Chairman, would be the same as yours in your opening statement. They remain difficult and cumbersome and discouraging, and we, too, believe that there ought to be some way of making them, if you will, more orderly and a less amount of time to complete them significantly abbreviated.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Last year the committee asked the Commerce Department to study and report to us on the situation with respect to alleged abuses by Hungarian firms of U.S. industrial property rights in Hungary and third countries. Some progress has been made, but the issue still remains and creates uncertainty in U.S. firms trading in Hungary.

What does the Department or others in the administration believe needs to be done to resolve this matter?

Miss **Ridgway**. May I turn to my colleague?

Senator **Ribicoff**. Certainly.

Mr. **George**. Mr. Chairman, the Department of Commerce has indeed been very active with respect to the problem that you mentioned. Over the past several years we have met with the Romanians a variety of times, met with the Romanians and the American companies and the associations concerned, and assisted in arranging meetings between the firms and the Romanians. We believe that substantial progress has been made. There are problems which remain, but we believe they are being worked on, and we at least remain reasonably optimistic that they will be resolved.

These matters, as most legal matters, particularly in the patents field, do take time. There are considerations in Romania with regard to certain of the patent problems that now involve court cases. There are also matters which involve directly actions in third countries.

We have been on top of this. We remain with a positive attitude with regard to the eventual solution. We believe both sides have reached the point where they are able to talk effectively with each other, and we think this is the approach that needs to be taken and must be continued to resolve these problems. It is our hope that with the resolution of these problems, we will not have repetition of them, although there has been some indication of similar problems potentially arising with other companies.

Senator **Ribicoff**. I think that Senator Danforth has followed this entire problem very carefully, and I will turn the questioning over to Senator Danforth to take as much time as he would like.

Senator **Danforth**. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

You are Mr. George?

Mr. **George**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Danforth**. Mr. George, as I understood Senator Ribicoff's question, it related to certain patent infringement problems with Hungary, and your answer consistently related to Romania.

Mr. **George**. My fault, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Danforth**. A slip of the tongue?

Mr. **George**. Yes.

Senator **Danforth**. Let me just pursue the issue in a little more detail.

A couple of years ago it was called to our attention that there were problems between the United States and Hungary, particularly relating to certain American chemical companies producing agriculturally related chemicals, herbicides, for example, and that Hungary was systematically abusing normal American property rights in its chemical products, that Hungary was not granting patents, that if patents were granted, they didn't amount to anything, that Hungarian companies were manufacturing similar or identical products under different names, and selling these products within Hungary; that furthermore, Hungary was manufacturing identical products or very similar products and selling them in markets in other countries other than the United States or Hungary.

And when I say Hungary was manufacturing, as I understand it, Hungary really doesn't have what we would call a free enterprise system, and there is a very close relationship between the government and its manufacturing sector.

I think that it was a year ago at this same hearing, comparable hearing, that the same issue was raised as to the status of the situation.

Now, it is my understanding from your answer that there has been a little progress, but that the problem continues to exist. Is that correct?

Mr. **George**. That is generally correct. I would say the progress has been more than a little, but it has not been the complete resolution of the problem.

Senator **Danforth**. Could you spell out where the unresolved problems are?

Mr. **George**. There are two types of problems involved. The first relates to the export by Hungary to third countries in which the U.S. firm has patent rights to the product. There has been progress made in this to the extent that I think both groups understand each other's views. They have had some discussions regarding possible solutions. To my best knowledge, there is now a pause in discussions, generally speaking, to await the results of some court trials in a third country.

Senator **Danforth**. Of some——

Mr. **George**. Of some court actions in a third country.

Senator **Danforth**. Now, Mr. George, just concentrating for a moment on the sales in third countries, discussions can go on forever, and if the court systems of other countries are the same as ours, litigation can go on forever.

Can we resolve this issue, do you think, or—I mean, it seems to me that we are really in the nature of being patsies if we extend most favored nation status to Hungary and they continue to do something that just absolutely—I mean, it is stealing is what it is. It is contrary to everything that we believe in, all the rules that we play by in this country. It seems to me that if there are just discussions and if they are not really in active status now, that that is not really an aggressive policy of pursuing this matter.

Mr. **George**. In this matter, Senator, I believe we have been, on the part of the government, in cooperation with the association involved and the private business firms, as aggressive as our capabilities permit us to be. We are, after all, dealing with a foreign government and with a foreign government's laws, and we cannot here resolve how those laws apply. These are matters, frequently, for court consideration. However, in other aspects, some of these matters are matters for differences of opinion between agencies of other governments. As you know, these differences also may take time to resolve.

But we stay on top of this, as does the association involved, and we are using every opportunity, including major meetings on the subject itself, to press the resolution when the opportunity offers.

Senator **Danforth**. Could you describe the situation within Hungary itself?

Mr. **George**. I'm sorry, I didn't get the last part.

Senator **Danforth**. You said there were two parts of the problem. One was the sale by Hungary of these products in third markets and the other is the situation with respect to patents within Hungary.

Mr. **George**. The second part of the problem refers to the nonreceipt of what we call national treatment regarding the protection of industrial property rights in Hungary. By national treatment we mean the same treatment afforded the nationals of Hungary. Here again there has been extensive discussion and a number of meetings, including discussion of the subject at joint committee meetings between the United States and Hungary. We believe that substantial progress has been made, and we do have a basic agreement with the Hungarian government that the particular kinds of products that are involved in the discussions will be able to be patented and thus receive the full national treatment in Hungary.

Senator **Danforth**. But they have not yet been patented?

Mr. **George**. So far as I am aware, they have not yet been patented. The process is under way.

Senator **Danforth**. Well, Mr. George, I would very much appreciate it if you would carry back to the Commerce Department, and through the Commerce Department, carry back to Hungary the concern of I think more than one member of the U.S. Senate and more than one member of this committee about the situation. I think that it is fair to say that with respect to trade we have more to offer Hungary than Hungary has to offer us, and that the one bright light in a very dreary American trade picture has been American agriculture and products related to American agriculture. And here, where you have Hungary stealing our chemical products, and selling them, manufacturing them and selling them not only within Hungary but selling them around the world, you have a situation where another country is really engaging in theft; it is stealing something which is ours. That would not be tolerated within the United States. And it is taking a market which should be ours, and taking it not only within its own country, but taking it within other countries around the world.

And very frankly, the situation in Hungary continues to concern me because I don't understand why the United States should be granting to Hungary any concessions whatever if the quid pro quo that we are going to get is this kind of theft which is clearly contrary to the interests of the United States in the one area in international trade where we generally are doing fairly well.

Mr. **George**. I shall certainly carry that word back, Senator. I would like to point out merely that the concern here happened to be in third countries where the U.S. firm had patents. The firms involved are not really concerned if there are exports to other countries where this situation does not exist. That is merely international trade without constraint.

Senator Danforth. Yes. But it is fair to say, isn't it, that it clearly has an effect on America's ability to do business around the world, and that it clearly is an unfair practice which is taking our markets from us.

Mr. George. If, Senator, the problem of the actual patenting is worked out, and if the problem of exporting to third countries where we hold the patent right is resolved, then there appears to be no problem with the companies, and I would see no problem if there were exports to other third countries where this situation did not exist. That, I repeat, would be purely competitive international trade.

Senator Danforth. Well, I don't know. I haven't thought about that.

What you are talking about is a situation where a third country, where there has been no effort by the United States to sell its product, by American manufacturers to sell its product or to get a patent in another country, is that right?

Mr. George. Purely where it is a patent issue. Otherwise it is a competitive situation.

Senator Danforth. Now, again, I don't want to belabor this. However, under this hypothetical situation, let's suppose that an American manufacturer of herbicides is attempting to sell its herbicide in country X, and Hungary is manufacturing a product which is identical to ours and also selling it in country X. Now, it would be my position that that would be taking an American market and taking it quite unfairly and that it is not a matter of free trade.

Mr. George. Let me make two points. The first is that even in the case involved, it is by no means perfectly clear that the American firm has clear patent rights. That is one of the issues being pursued. However, in other instances where the foreign country is able to, under proper conditions, produce a product, my feeling is they have every right to export to other countries and to compete with U.S. firms if they are not involved in a situation such as I described where there may be a patent infringement in a third country.

Senator Danforth. You mean it is the view of the Department of Commerce that a U.S. chemical company can be endeavoring to sell its product in Hungary, that Hungary can manufacture, then, an identical product using an identical process and then go out and sell it in some other country which, say, doesn't have patent laws? That is the position of the government?

Mr. George. No, sir, that is not what I am either saying or trying to imply. I said earlier that if Hungary were producing this material in Hungary without any patent problem with the United States, without using, say, its process, then I think it ought to have the right to sell the product to anyone it wishes.

Senator Danforth. Well, it can sell a competing—obviously it can sell a competing product, but that is not my understanding of the situation. My understanding of the situation in Hungary is that an American chemical company can be making the herbicide, can be trying to take advantage of world trade and trying to do at least something for our dismal trade situation and endeavor to sell this product both in Hungary and throughout the world, and that

Hungary is making an identical product under what clearly would be a patent abuse if it were done within the United States, is not granting patents to the American product and is not only selling this product within Hungary but is selling it all over the world.

Now, am I mistaken?

Mr. George. If that is the circumstance, then I don't think that it should have the ability to sell that product all over the world.

Senator Danforth. Well, that is my only point, Mr. George, and I would hope that in the year ahead the Commerce Department would do a very aggressive job of pursuing this matter, of protecting American rights, of making the strongest possible case to the Hungarians, and to third countries, if that does any good, and to do the best job we possibly can of protecting American interests, because I frankly don't understand why we should have any concessions at all for Hungary if this is going to be the kind of practice that they engage in.

Mr. George. We have done that, Senator, and we shall continue to do the best we possibly can.

Senator Danforth. Thank you.

Senator Ribicoff. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. No questions.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you, gentlemen, and Miss Ridgway.

[The prepared statements of the administration panel follow:]

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE
ROZANNE RIDGWAY
COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE
JULY 21, 1980

Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased to have this opportunity today to testify on behalf of further extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act, and specifically his authority to continue the waivers permitting Most-Favored Nation (MFN) tariff treatment for the People's Republic of China, Hungary, and Romania. The extension of the waiver for China represents a first for that country following the entry into force on February 1, 1980, of the US-China Trade Agreement. The President's waiver authority has proven to be a valuable device for furthering US interests with Romania and Hungary and we believe that it will also prove so in the case of China.

We are particularly pleased with the recent development of our relations with China. The US-China Trade Agreement marked a significant step toward establishing a normal trade and economic relationship between our two countries. The Agreement provides significant benefits and assistance to American

businessmen while creating a solid foundation for continued expansion of economic ties. We anticipate that the Trade Agreement will contribute to growth in our trade, and that the total two-way turnover will exceed $3 billion in 1980 with a large US surplus.

Normal economic interchange with China is an essential element of our overall relations with Beijing. Our objectives in furthering and expanding relations with China are to build meaningful political, cultural, and economic relations. All of these objectives we believe will work to the mutual benefit of our countries.

With respect to emigration, Chinese Government policy is to facilitate applications by Chinese either to go abroad or to return to China. In accordance with this policy, substantially increased numbers of people have been authorized to leave China in the last two years. In the past twelve months, for instance, over 75,000 Chinese have entered Hong Kong, the primary exit point, with Chinese Government exit permission. Our Embassy in Beijing has issued over 8,000 non-immigrant visas in the same period. Since November, 1978, over 16,000 Chinese have entered Hong Kong to apply for immigrant visas to join relatives in the United States. Thus, performance has accorded with policy. The major impediment to increased immigration from China to the United States at this time, in fact, is not Chinese policy or practice, but rather the numerical limitations required by US immigration law.

Turning to Romania and Hungary, I would like to state briefly the general policy considerations on which our relations with the countries of Eastern Europe are based. I would like to note that I visited both countries six weeks ago, and received a first-hand impression from the respective officials of the importance which both countries attach to their relations with the United States. In the course of my discussions, I reiterated the importance that we also attach to these relations and the concern which we have in the United Stateswith regard to the respect of human rights.

During the 1970's, we made steady progress in our relations with most of the countries of Eastern Europe. This progress was especially noteworthy during the latter half of the decade. As we move into the 1980's, we remain committed to the course of attempting to strengthen further these relations. We do not hold the Eastern European countries accountable for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which they did not participate in and evidently were not consulted about. Thus, we continue to encourage a broad range of commercial, economic, political and cultural relations with Hungary and Romania, and with the other Eastern European countries as well. We require only that, as we have in the past, there be reciprocity and respect for our concerns.

We expect that the continuation of our efforts to expand relations with the individual Eastern European countries will provide the necessary framework within which to carry out more open and productive exchanges on many topics, including human rights, which are of interest to us. The continued expansion of trade and economic cooperation is also of direct benefit to US industrial and agricultural producers and to US consumers.

We continue to have basic disagreements with the governments of Eastern Europe on a wide range of questions dealing with political and religious freedoms as well as with interpretations of basic human and social values. However, an activist policy of political, economic and cultural exchange with these countries is a means of encouraging change and building on the diversity which has become more evident over the years.

Specifically concerning Romania, we believe that it is in our best interest to encourage Romania's determination to maintain its distinctive independent posture within th[illegible]rsaw Pact. In spite of apparent increased pressures towa[illegible] conformity -- mostly arising from Romania's energy p[illegible] -- Romania has persevered in its commitment to formulate [illegible] own foreign policy. Romania's opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a recent case in point.

The numerous exchanges and high-level visits which we have conducted with Romania since the last hearings, including my own in June to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Romania, have afforded us new opportunities to emphasize the importance that we attach to freedom of emigration and to respect for all human rights. We believe that these discussions have produced significant results, as is shown by the increase in emigration to the United States and to Israel. We are well aware that many of Romania's policies do not conform with our own. However, the willingness of the Romanian Government to discuss various aspects of human rights questions, including such sensitive matters as the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania, represents a significant development.

U.S. trade with Romania, as will be elaborated by my colleagues, has grown and diversified considerably since the granting of MFN, and last year reached a two-way total of $830 million.

Turning to Hungary, I am pleased to note that the constructive dialogue which has characterized US-Hungarian relations since the return to Budapest of the Crown of Saint Stephen and the conclusion in 1978 of our bilateral Trade Agreement continues. Our ability to deal frankly with each other on a basis of mutual respect has persisted, despite the downturn in US-Soviet relations. Both we and Hungary place emphasis on our commitments to full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, on the one hand, and to maintaining and extending the positive aspects of bilateral relations, on the other. Overall, there is a balance of interests and results. Economic and commercial relations have developed, while at the same time we have been able to expand relations under auspices of the Helsinki Final Act in the cultural and humanitarian fields, including a series of unprecedented visits by religious leaders.

Hungarian performance on emigration has continued to be positive. The number of problem cases outstanding at any one time remains small, and Hungary's record in resolving problem cases continues to be quite good. In fact, six of the seven cases we presented to the Hungarian Government last October have now been favorably resolved.

US-Hungarian economic relations, as will be described later in detail, show promise of continued expansion to the benefit of both countries. In 1979, our two-way trade totaled $190 million, which represented a 14 percent increase from the previous year.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we believe that the continuation in effect of the waiver for China is essential for the future development of an enduring, friendly and cooperative relationship with that country. Similarly, we believe that continuation of the waivers is also fully justified with respect to Romania and Hungary in view of the emigration records of both countries. It is apparent that the impact on our relations with these countries of MFN tariff treatment and the other trade and economic relationships which flow from our bilateral trade agreements has been most beneficial. These relationships also are an essential element in our ability to continue to develop broad and meaningful contacts both in the political and economic areas.

In view of these factors, Mr. Chairman, the Administration strongly recommends the extension of the President's authority to waive Section 402 of the Trade Act to continue in effect the waivers for China, Hungary, and Romania and to permit the extension of future waivers to other countries as circumstances permit.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will submit for the record additional detailed information covering US relations with China, Hungary and Romania.

HUNGARY

Our relations with Hungary are characterized by a mutual emphasis on the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and a mutual desire to maintain and extend the positive aspects of our bilateral relations. Both countries have benefitted from the relationship. Hungary has been able to broaden and deepen its economic and commercial relations with the United States, and we have been able, within the framework of the Final Act, to expand our relations in cultural and humanitarian fields.

The expansion of relations in the cultural and humanitarian fields has taken several forms. In October 1979, the United States and Hungary signed a working document on exchanges which set forth, under the auspices of our overall 1977 Exchanges Agreement, a specific program of exchanges in the educational, cultural and scientific fields for 1980 and 1981. During the month of June 1980 a major official U.S. cultural exhibit, "America Now," ran successfully in Budapest. The exhibit was housed in a large, free-standing geodesic dome located in a distinctive setting in one of Budapest's major parks and was visited by tens of thousands of Hungarians. Last October, an ecumenical group of Hungarian churchmen visited the United States under the auspices of the United States International Communication Agency and the Appeal of Conscience Foundation in New York. In April of this year, the Minister-Chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, Imre Miklos, visited the United States, the first such visit from Eastern Europe.

We continue to maintain a steady flow of high-level contacts with Hungary. Chairman Vanik led a Congressional delegation to Hungary last January. In April, extensive annual talks at the Deputy Minister level were held in Washington by the Joint U.S.-Hungarian Economic and Commercial Committee established by the 1978 Trade Agreement. At the end of May we held another round of annual consultations with the Hungarians on all aspects of the Helsinki Final Act. Secretary of Commerce Klutznick visited Budapest May 29-30 and held talks with the Hungarian Prime Minister, a Deputy Prime Minister, and the Minister of Foreign Trade. He also met with leaders of Hungary's Jewish community. The Counselor of the Department of State visited Hungary in mid-June.

Hungary's performance on emigration continues to be positive. Although Hungary's emigration law is ostensibly restrictive, it is applied with considerable flexibility, and approximately 90 percent of applications for emigration for purposes of reunification with close relatives are approved without undue difficulty. With reapplications and some persistence, problem cases usually are favorably resolved after the passage of some time. We continue to have no evidence of official sanctions applied against persons seeking to emigrate.

Hungary's emigration and passport fees are modest, totalling about $75 per adult applicant. There is no particular problem concerning Jewish emigration, and the Hungarian Jewish community appears to be faring rather well. The only rabbinical seminary in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is located in Budapest. Demand to emigrate from Hungary continues to appear modest, probably attributable to the country's relatively high standard of living and comparatively relaxed internal conditions. Indications are that some 2,000 Hungarians currently apply annually to emigrate, with intended destinations divided evenly between East and West.

During calendar years 1975-79, the U.S. Embassy in Budapest issued 571 immigrant visas. During the same five year period we discussed 43 problem emigration cases with the Hungarian Government. The number of problem cases outstanding at any one time ranged from three to about thirteen. Our discussions with the Hungarian Government assume the form of presentation, approximately semiannually, of lists of problem cases and consideration of each case in some detail. A list we presented last October contained seven cases, involving 15 individuals in Hungary. As of the end of April, four of the cases (eight individuals) had been favorably resolved, bringing the number of outstanding cases down to its lowest level, three, since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. As of mid-July two more cases (three individuals) were favorably resolved, leaving only one case outstanding from the October list.

As older cases are resolved, newer ones arise. In mid-May we presented to the Hungarian Government a new list of eight cases (19 individuals), including three carried over from the last list and five more recent ones. As indicated above, two of the three carried over cases have been favorably resolved. A third, newer, case was decided favorably in June, leaving only five cases currently outstanding.

Hungary also has a positive record in the area of travel. About four and one-half million Hungarians (out of a population of 10.5 million) travel abroad annually. Most go to other Eastern countries, but upwards of 355,000 visit the West. The U.S. Embassy in Budapest issued 10,671 nonimmigrant visas last year, of which 8,884 were for purposes of tourism and family visits. The average Hungarian perceives that he can visit the West if he wishes, at least occasionally. This perception undoubtedly plays a role in reducing overall demand to emigrate. Hungary welcomes foreign visitors and about 20 million currently visit or transit the country annually.

There have also been positive developments in U.S.-Hungarian economic relations during the past year. The Trade Agreement of 1978, which provided for the mutual granting of most-favored nation tariff treatment, has been an important factor in the favorable development of U.S.-Hungarian trade relations. As an official endorsement of trade between our two countries, the Trade Agreement has stimulated both U.S. and Hungarian firms to pursue business opportunities more actively in each other's markets.

U.S.-Hungarian trade grew significantly in 1979. U.S. data show total trade in 1979 amounting to $190 million, up 14 percent from 1978. U.S. imports from Hungary rose to $112 million from $66 million in 1978. U.S. exports declined from $98 million in 1978 to $78 million in 1979. U.S. data, however, do not reflect many shipments to Hungary through brokers and U.S. subsidiaries in third countries and would appear to understate our exports.

Other factors have also contributed to the divergent trends in our trade data over the past two years. Agricultural commodity sales, which traditionally constitute a large share of U.S. exports to Hungary, declined in 1979 because of increased Hungarian crop output and soybean purchases from cheaper third-country suppliers. Growing hard-currency debt and balance of payments deficits have forced Hungarian authorities to restrain imports from all Western countries. Increased Hungarian manufactured exports to the United States in 1979 are accounted for in large measure by the onset of sales to a number of American companies under long-term cooperation agreements.

Despite the relatively modest export performance of U.S. firms since the conclusion of the Trade Agreement, we remain optimistic about the prospects for increases in U.S. export sales to Hungary in the future. U.S. firms are showing greater interest in the Hungarian market. As Hungarian enterprises and economic ministries learn more about our products and technology, and our own firms become better acquainted with the needs of the Hungarian market, we expect that U.S. exports will expand at a more rapid pace.

As a part of an effort to encourage the expansion of bilateral trade and cooperation, the U.S. and Hungarian Government agreed in 1978 to establish the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee. In April of this year the Committee held its second session in Washington. We used this opportunity to discuss trade and commercial issues of mutual interest, including future Hungarian investment plans which offer U.S firms prospects for increasing exports to Hungary.

Developments in our financial relations with Hungary over the past twelve months are also noteworthy. Exim-Bank and the U.S. Department of Agriculture have extended lines of credit for the purchase of U.S. industrial equipment and farm commodities. These credits amounted to $10 million and $15 million, respectively. Within the private sector, two major U.S. banks were among ten subscribers to a $250 million loan syndication of the National Bank of Hungary offered in April of this year.

In summary, we believe that we have made important strides in our economic relations with Hungary, and we foresee further progress, benefitting both countries, in the years to come.

ROMANIA

Recent developments in East/West relations brought about by events in Afghanistan have served to highlight the unique role and position of Romania among Eastern European countries. This was particularly noticeable in Romania's unwillingness to support the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Furthermore, Romania -- alone among Warsaw Pact countries -- did not take part in the vote on Afghanistan at the United Nations General Assembly and refrained from establishing contacts with the new Afghan Government until very recently.

We believe that it is in our interest to encourage Romania's determination to maintain this distinctive independent posture. In addition to Romania's position on the invasion of Afghanistan, other actions during the past year have also highlighted Romania's efforts to formulate and pursue an independent course in foreign policy. For example, Romania has continued to support the Camp David Framework as a means of solving Middle East problems, while urging that an overall solution requires the participation of all interested parties. Romania did not participate in the Soviet-supported meeting of European Communist Parties held in Paris in April, apparently because of differences over the question of Afghanistan. Romania has remained committed to a successful Madrid CSCE Conference and has taken a particularly active role in promoting disarmament and initiatives on dispute settlement. President Ceausescu underscored Romania's special ties with the Third World and China in a number of meetings, in Belgrade and later in Bucharest, which he held at the time of President Tito's funeral with leaders from non-aligned countries as well as with Chinese Party Chairman and Prime Minister Hua Guofeng. In the economic area, Romania has expanded its trade with Western and non-aligned countries. The Federal Republic of Germany and the United States are now the second and fourth largest trade partners of Romania. Although Romania remains dependent on the Soviet Union for supplies of raw materials, it continues to try to reduce this dependence.

U.S. relations with Romania during the past year have continued to develop. Between August 1979 and May 1980, a number of high-level visits took place. Romanian Foreign Minister Andrei visited the US in the fall of 1979. In January of this year, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Newsom visited Romania and had comprehensive talks with Romanian officials, including President Ceausescu. In January a Congressional delegation led by Chairman Vanik visited Romania and had meetings with President Ceausescu and Deputy Prime Minister Burtica.

In April, another round of comprehensive bilateral consultations was held in Washington with a Romanian delegation led by Minister-Secretary of State Duma. These consultations covered all aspects of the Helsinki Final Act. During the discussions, we emphasized the importance we attach to the full implementation of the humanitarian aspects of the Final Act. Particular emphasis was placed on the right of individuals to exercise and practice their religious beliefs. We also reviewed concerns regarding the treatment of national minorities, in particular the Hungarian ethnic group. In this connection, US Embassy officers have again visited areas of Romania with a large Hungarian-speaking population. While it appears that instances of discrimination at the local level exist, our Embassy's assessment indicates that there is no evidence to support reports of a policy of discrimination by the Romanian Government against Romania's ethnic Hungarian minority. US Embassy officers have also visited towns where churches that had been damaged by the earthquake of 1977 are located. These visits have shown that most of the churches have been repaired. A few, more seriously damaged, are in the process of being rebuilt. In addition, at the invitation of the Romanian Government, a Staff Delegation of the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee visited Transylvania in late April.

With respect to trade and economic relations, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Trade Burtica led the Romanian delegation to the Sixth Joint Economic Commission Meeting which was held in Washington in April. During his visit, the Deputy Prime Minister met with the President and the Vice President. In early May, a Romanian Parliamentary delegation, led by the President of the Romanian Grand National Assembly, visited the United States. The Counselor of the Department of State visited Romania June 12-14 in connection with the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the United States. All of these visits contributed to the expansion and intensification of the dialogue between our countries.

It is obvious that Romanian policies in the area of human rights are not the same as ours, nor do they fully conform to what we consider to be the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Nevertheless, we have found that the Romanian Government is prepared to carry out open and comprehensive discussions in this area. This was highlighted during the Human Rights Round-Table meeting held in Romania in February. The US delegation, which included US Government officials, CSCE Commission representatives, and members of private organizations interested in human rights, had long and useful meetings with Romanian representatives during which policies, practices, and perceptions on how to approach and deal with human rights were reviewed. Despite fundamental differences in the social and political structures of our countries, the possibility of conducting forthright and meaningful bilateral discussons was again demonstrated.

Overall, our contacts and meetings with Romanian Government officials lead us to believe that we have built a solid foundation for a continuing dialogue. MFN has played a useful and important part in the building of this relationship.

With regard to the specific question of emigration, Romania's performance improved substantially in key areas during the second semester of 1979 and the first five months of 1980, even though there have been no basic changes in the official Romanian position regarding emigration. As a matter of policy, the Government of Romania maintains that it is the duty of Romanian citizens to remain in Romania to make their contribution to the nation's development goals. However, the Romanian Government also emphasizes that it takes its international undertakings in a serious and responsible manner, including those with respect to the Helsinki Final Act. Thus, it cooperates in the settlement of cases involving family reunification and other humanitarian considerations.

Romania's emigration performance since July 1979 should thus be considered in light of established Romanian policies as well as Romania's international undertakings. Since the granting of MFN, emigration to the United States has grown considerably, increasing four-fold between 1974 and 1979, from an annual total of 407 to over 1600. This trend has been particularly noticeable since the last Congressional hearings. From July 1979 through June 1980, 2379 Romanians emigrated to the

United States compared to 1588 during July 1978-June 1979, an increase of nearly 40 percent. Of these, nearly one-fourth came here directly as qualified immigrants, while the remainder were processed by our Embassy in Bucharest as refugees under the Third-Country Processing Program, since they do not qualify as immigrants for lack of immediate relatives in the United States who could file petitions on their behalf. This program has been streamlined during the last six months to reduce the time that the prospective refugees spend in a third country -- mostly Italy -- before their admission to the United States from three months to about a week.

While progress has been made, there are still many applicants waiting to receive approval from the Romanian Government. We present divided family as well as marriage case lists to the Romanian Foreign Ministry every three months. Our most recent list, delivered in July, included 193 cases of qualified immigrants covering 558 persons. The majority of those on the qualified immigrant list have been waiting about 18 months. We are hopeful that, as we carry on our dialogue with the Romanians, we will succeed in shortening this waiting period. With respect to the marriage list, the first four months of 1980 showed positive results. The number of pending cases dropped from 69 to 56. We have impressed upon the Romanian Government our particular concern regarding the long waiting period -- about 18 months -- before requests for marriage are approved. We are hopeful that improvement will also occur in this area.

No significant change in emigration procedures has occurred in the past year with regard to emigrants to the United States. Individuals applying for permanent departure continue to face bureaucratic delays, cumbersome requirements, and economic and social pressures before they obtain the necessary documentation. These obstacles constitute a regular feature of US-Romanian discussions on consular and humanitarian affairs. We emphasize the importance of streamlining the requirements and also make clear that we are disturbed by reports of job demotions and other pressures experienced by prospective immigrants.

With regard to the emigration of Romanian Jews to Israel, considerable progress has been made since July, 1979. During the period of July 1979 through June 1980, 1091 Romanian Jews emigrated to Israel as compared to 889 during the period of July 1978-June 1979. This represents a 22 percent increase. We believe that the understanding reached last summer between the representatives of major American-Jewish organizations and the Government of Romania has worked effectively in improving procedures and expediting the processing of emigration requests by Romanian Jews. Our Embassy in Bucharest monitors progress in emigration with officials of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and reviews the list of prospective emigrants which is compiled and maintained by the Chief Rabbi of Romania, Rabbi Moses Rosen. We will continue to emphasize to the Romanian Government the importance that we attach to sustained performance with respect to emigration to Israel.

We are pleased that by a decree issued on June 26 the Romanian Government has remitted fines imposed on a group of 15 Romanian Jews found guilty in the early sixties of alleged embezzlement of state funds. We understand that those among them who wish to emigrate will be allowed to do so.

Emigration to the Federal Republic of Germany, after a decline in early 1979, has increased greatly in the last eight months and, if continued at the present rate, will total over 13,000 by the end of 1980.

US-Romanian trade and economic relations have continued to expand under the US-Romanian Trade Agreement, which was renewed in 1978 for another three-year period. In 1979, our total trade with Romania grew by almost 25 percent to $829 million. US exports reached $500.5 million and were characterized by a large increase in our traditionally strong agricultural exports and by a diversification in the composition of other items. US imports totaled $329.3 million with increases in a variety of categories including light manufactures and a decrease in oil products. Figures for the first four months of 1980 continue to show an upward trend in two-way trade with US exports exceeding imports by $140.7 million.

EMIGRATION APPROVALS GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA

	USA	ISRAEL	FRG
Jan 79 - Dec 79	2,000	1,181	9,173
JAN	126	90	1,061
FEB	268	84	1,380
MARCH	268	96	1,098
APRIL	211	199	1,238
MAY	287	161	637
JUNE	175	169	898

Statistical Summary

Total Active Cases as of July 1, 1980

(A) Immigrant visa cases pending (divided families: nuclear and non-nuclear) - 193, including 462 persons

(B) Dual-national cases pending -- 130 including, with immediate family members, 38 persons

(C) Marriage cases -- 48

Individual Cases Resolved	Jan-June 1979	Jan-June 1980
(A) Immigrant visas issued	121	234
(B) TCP processing completed	384	1074
(C) Dual nationals approved by GOR for departure (USC only)	3	9
(D) Binational marriages solved	21	39

Representation Lists (numbers in parenthesis indicate persons)

	IV's on List	IV's still Pending
July 76	191 (427)	1 (3)
Dec 76	188 (484)	2 (4)
July 77	109 (257)	2 (4)
Dec 77	140 (348)	5 (11)
Mar 78	155 (383)	7 (17)
July 78	133 (338)	19 (45)
Oct 78	114 (279)	29 (70)
Jan 79	180 (422)	52 (126)
Apr 79	216 (511)	64 (156)
July 79	241 (563)	84 (205)
Oct 79	238 (559)	109 (262)
Dec 79	232 (559)	130 (319)
Jan 80	218 (527)	146 (356)
Apr 80	214 (524)	171 (412)
July 80	220 (540)	193 (462)

Marriage Cases

	Cases on List	Cases still Pending
July 76	32	0
Dec 76	57	0
July 77	46	0
Dec 77	53	0
Mar 78	60	0
July 78	22	3
Oct 78	35	8
Jan 79	48	11
Apr 79	57	17
July 79	58	20
Oct 79	63	29
Dec 79	76	45
Jan 80	69	48
Apr 80	69	56

Statistical Summary

- 2 -

Dual Nationals and Families

	Cases on List	Cases still Pending
July 76	114 (107)	2 (6)
Dec 76	163 (577)	2 (6)
July 77	104 (357)	3 (9)
Dec 77	120 (461)	12 (75)
Mar 78	126 (497)	17 (88)
July 78	103 (457)	30 (154)
Oct 78	94 (387)	45 (220)
Jan 79	100 (452)	64 (307)
Apr 79	104 (460)	69 (321)
July 79	110 (480)	78 (350)
Oct 79	134 (583)	105 (467)
Jan 80	147 (633)	117 (512)
Apr 80	143 (616)	125 (560)
July 80	149 (608)	130 (558)

ROMANIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Monthly Totals

	Immigrant Visas Issued* by Embassy Bucharest	
1978		
January	78	
February	100	
March	67	
April	99	
May	124	
June	122	
July	145	
August	118	
September	170	
October	246	
November	191	
December	206	
Total	1,666	
1979		
January	77	
February	106	
March	102	
April	67	
May	103	
June	57	(July 78-June 79-1588)
July	109	
August	124	
September	205	
October	241	
November	168	
December	193	
Total	1,552	
1980		
January	171	
February	216	
March	234	
April	236	
May	240	
June	242	(July 79-June 80 - 2379)

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* Includes Third Country Processing, but excludes Dual Nationals

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Annual Totals

	Calendar Year	
1968	68	
1969	142	
1970	373	
1971	362	
1972	348	
1973	469	
1974	407	
1975	890	
1976	1,021	
1977	1,240	
1978	1,666	(1,706 including dual nationals)
1979	1,552	
1980 (Jan - June)	1,339	

ROMANIAN JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Monthly Totals

	Number of Immigrants	
1978		
January	63	
February	73	
March	96	
April	77	
May	148	
June	111	
July	90	
August	90	
September	99	
October	100	
November	98	
December	90	
Total	1,143	
1979		
January	31	
February	47	
March	55	
April	60	
May	61	
June	60	(July 78-June 79-889)
July	58	
August	74	
September	120	
October	140	
November	158	
December	120	
Total	984	
1980		
January	57	
February	52	
March	87	
April	74	
May	90	
June	61	(July 79-June 80-1091)

ROMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Approximate Annual Totals

1971	1,900
1972	3,000
1973	4,000
1974	3,700
1975	2,000
1976	2,000
1977	1,330
1978	1,143
1979	984
1980 (Jan-June)	425

STATEMENT OF HERBERT E. HOROWITZ
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF
EAST-WEST ECONOMIC POLICY
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SENATE
July 21, 1980

Mr. Chairman, as I stated before the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee, I am pleased on behalf of the Treasury Department to join in support of the extension of the President's authority to waive the restrictions contained in section 402 of the Trade Act for another year. Continuation of the waiver authority, which would allow the bilateral trade agreements the United States has with Romania, Hungary and China to remain in force, will permit continued growth in our economic and political relations with these countries.

The purpose of today's hearing, I understand, is to examine our commercial relations with Romania, Hungary and China and the emigration practices of these countries over the last year in order to determine whether an extension of the President's waiver of section 402 is justified. Over the last year, our foreign policy objectives have been advanced by the increasingly close and mutually beneficial economic relations with all three of these countries. Moreover, the practices of these countries with respect to emigration, as indicated in the statement by Counselor Ridgeway, have been positive. We believe that our national interest will be well served by extending the waiver authority for another year.

Romania

Romania has consistently maintained a very high degree of independence through the adoption of a number of policy initiatives. For example, Romania is the only COMECON country which is a member of the IMF and the World Bank, and participates actively in several other international organizations such as the GATT. Romania's economic viability is the key to its strategy of independence. We believe it is in our interest to encourage Romania's independent policy orientation through expanded commercial and economic relations. The continuation of the bilateral trade agreement with Romania is an important element toward this end.

In 1975 when the US-Romanian Trade agreement entered into force, two way trade was only $322 million. Last year total trade turnover grew to a record $830 million with a surplus in favor of the United States of $170 million. The large surplus in 1979 was attributable to a sharp increase in U.S. agricultural exports.

Officially supported export financing has been in part responsible for the increased volume of trade. Failure to extend the President's authority to waive the section 402 restrictions, would make Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation credits unavailable to U.S. exporters. Export-Import Bank exposure to Romania is about $139.6 million. During 1979, the Export-Import Bank authorized two separate lines of credit to the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade, totalling approximately $80 million. One credit for $30 million was a general purpose line and the other credit line was for $50 million to assist the financing of small and medium size projects. On the agricultural side, the Commodity Credit Corporation has extended a total of $35 million in credits to Romania in fiscal year 1980 which have had the effect of increasing our agricultural exports to Romania. Both forms of financing have been instrumental in making U.S. exporters more competitive, increasing the U.S. share of the Romanian market and helping the United States balance of payments position.

Imports of capital goods and agricultural commodities are likely to continue to exceed Romania's foreign exchange earnings. Romania therefore needs continued external financing as well as increased access to Western markets. The renewal of the President's waiver authority will enable Romania to continue to secure official export financing to further its purchases of U.S. goods and equipment. In addition, the renewal of the waiver will continue the benefits of MFN and GSP to Romania, which are important to the expansion of mutually beneficial trade between our two countries.

Hungary

Hungary has been an active member of the international trading community and has conducted itself in a manner which has made it an attractive market for many United States firms. In 1976 Hungary made full payment of all its indebtedness to the United States (including World War I debts), which has enabled it to raise money in United States capital markets, unlike many other COMECON members. Hungary is also a member of the GATT and participates in all its deliberations and negotiations. The renewal of the President's waiver authority, we believe, will continue this trend toward an independent commercial policy.

U.S.-Hungarian trade has risen from $166 million in 1978, when the bilateral trade agreement between the two countries entered into force, to a record high of $190 million in 1979. Last year we experienced a deficit in

U.S.-Hungarian trade, due in large part to a decrease in Hungary's purchase of U.S. agricultural commodities. We expect the overall volume of trade to grow steadily, and have taken steps to expand our exports to Hungary. In September 1979, Eximbank approved a $10 million line of credit to Hungary for the purchase of capital equipment and services from the U.S. During 1979 Hungary utilized $15.8 million in Commodity Credit Corporation credits to purchase U.S. agricultural goods. In fiscal year 1980 CCC extended a $15 million credit line to Hungary. This line has not yet been used, however, and it appears that Hungary does not intend to draw on it.

Hungary has been able to finance much of its trade with the West through borrowings in private capital markets in the U.S. and Europe. But official credits have been an important element in the steady rise in U.S.-Hungarian trade. An extension of the President's waiver authority will make the continuation of such official credits possible. We believe the continued availability of U.S. Government credits will help increase the U.S. exporters' share of the Hungarian market.

Extension of the existing waiver will also allow us to continue to extend MFN tariff treatment to Hungary. MFN treatment is central to Hungary's access to U.S. markets and to a healthy bilateral trading relationship.

China

China is the most recent nonmarket economy to receive MFN tariff treatment and gain full access to official U.S.

credit sources. In the course of one year, we signed a claims settlement agreement with China which has had the effect of removing serious impediments to our bilateral economic relations. We also signed a trade agreement with the PRC, which provides a broad framework for the expansion of commercial relations. This agreement was approved by Congress in January of this year. The trade agreement has been in effect for only five months, and it might be premature to judge its long-term impact on the volume of trade. However, two-way trade has increased very sharply since normalization of our relations. U.S.-China trade Jan. - May surpassed the 1.6 billion dollar mark this year -- compared to a $787 million volume during the same period last year. This trend is likely to continue throughout 1980 and be heavily weighted in favor of United States exports.

Last year, we established a U.S.-China Joint Economic Committee, which is chaired on the U.S. side by the Secretary of the Treasury, to serve as a forum for the review of bilateral economic issues with China. The first meeting is tentatively scheduled for mid-September. Negotiations between the U.S. and China have also moved forward on a number of bilateral agreements including civil aviation, maritime, and textiles.

In April, President Carter made the required national interest determination under the Export-Import Bank Act, which was the final step in making Export-Import Bank credits available to China. Eximbank officials are now discussing procedural arrangements with the Bank of China. Eximbank has also made its first preliminary commitment for the supply of United States equipment for a steel rolling mill in the PRC.

China has available approximately $30 billion official and private credits, almost all from other countries, but so far has drawn very little on these lines. Over the longer run, however, China will need to turn to foreign borrowings to supplement its foreign exchange earnings in order to finance the equipment and technology required for its modernization program. Official U.S. Government credits will undoubtedly be a critical element in the expansion of U.S. exports to China. The renewal of the waiver is essential if China is to have continued access to Eximbank financing.

In sum, we believe the extension of the President's waiver authority is essential to the expansion of our economic and political relationship with the PRC. Approval of the extension of the waiver will permit us to build on the foundation that has been established over the last year.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE J. MISHELL GEORGE
ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
FOR EAST-WEST TRADE
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
JULY 21, 1980

Mr. Chairman:

I am pleased to appear before this subcommittee today to speak in support of the Administration's request to extend the waiver authority for Romania, Hungary and China under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. Extension of the waiver will result in the continuation of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) tariff treatment for Romania, Hungary and China for 12 months, thereby demonstrating our continuing support for the development of trade and strengthening of overall relations between the U.S. and these countries.

The renewal of MFN for these countries serves to reaffirm U.S. trade policy toward Eastern Europe and China. Recently enacted controls on trade are directed at the USSR, not Eastern Europe, where we welcome opportunities to improve our economic/commercial relations, or China, where these relations have undergone remarkable improvement.

I shall review current trade trends with Romania, Hungary and China and the effect which the granting of MFN tariff treatment has had on our two-way trade with them. I shall also present the Department's views on the current status of our trade relations with these countries.

At this point, I wish to state for the record that the Department of Commerce fully endorses the views on emigration regarding Romania, Hungary, and China expressed here today by my colleague from the Department of State.

U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE TRENDS

Two-way trade with Romania reached a record high of $829.8 million in 1979, continuing the steady and impressive growth rate that has characterized our trade since 1970. Of last year's total, $500.5 million were U.S. exports and $329.3 million were U.S. imports. Total trade for the first five months of 1980 is $407.7 million and is expected to exceed $1 billion by the end of this year. U.S. exports for five months are at $287.2 million, which is $82.6 million ahead of last year's rate for the same period. The U.S. trade surplus for this five month period is $166.7 million. (See Table 1.)

Paced by increased U.S. agricultural exports, we have enjoyed a healthy trade surplus with Romania for the past 1 1/2 years. This strong U.S. export performance shows signs of continuing in 1980 as coal deliveries increase and agricultural sales continue. (See Table 2.) U.S. manufactured goods exports declined somewhat in 1979 after a sharp increase in 1978, but the composition of these exports is widening and this may lead to increases in 1980. Principal growth items are: hydraulic cranes, hydraulic and pneumatic metalworking presses, transportation construction equipment, textile machinery parts, and tire building machinery.

After several years of uninterrupted growth, imports from Romania declined some 5 percent in 1979 due to a decrease in oil product shipments. Imports of the most significant light manufactures showed moderate growth while agricultural imports from Romania remained at modest levels. (See Table 3.)

EFFECT OF MFN AND GSP TREATMENT ON U.S.- ROMANIAN TRADE

Romania went from Column II tariff treatment to nondiscriminatory tariff treatment in August of 1975, and then, with respect to a limited number of commodities, to preferential tariff status under GSP commencing in January 1976. The principal effect of granting MFN and GSP to Romania has been a rapid growth and development in our trade. The United States had become Romania's third leading trade partner in the West, behind West Germany and France.

In 1979, three of the top four Romanian exports to the U.S. (fuel oil, naphtha, and meat products), which accounted for 24 percent of total exports, were unaffected by MFN tariff status. On the other hand, some of the top fifteen U.S. imports, such as textiles and footwear, were affected by the lower MFN tariff rates and are in areas where U.S. industry is sensitive to foreign imports. Romania, however, accounts for an extremely small percentage of total U.S. imports in any of these categories. Furthermore, when market disruption questions concerning certain types of textiles and footwear have arisen in recent years, they have been resolved through either informal consultations or bilateral agreeements by which Romania's exports were either restrained or established at mutually agreed upon levels.

As a developing country, Romania has made use of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program. Last year, Romania exported to the U.S. approximately $83 million in products which were eligible for GSP. Of the top fifteen U.S. imports from Romania five benefitted from GSP treatment: furniture, railway cars, aluminum sheets and plates, synthetic rubber, and railway car parts.

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA

The expansion of our commercial relations in recent years can be attributed, in part, to the efforts of both governments to create a viable framework and favorable atmosphere for the development of trade and economic cooperation.

The United States has taken a number of steps designed to expand U.S. exports to Romania. Since November 1971, Romania has been eligible for trade financing programs of the Export-Import Bank of the United States (except for a short period of suspended activity from January 1975 to August 1975). Similarly, since 1970 the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) has played an important role in the export of U.S. agricultural commodities to Romania.

Romania has made continuing efforts to integrate its economy into the world economic system and to make its foreign trade system responsive to Western business needs. Romania is currently a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (IBRD). Participation in these and other international economic organizations has helped to facilitate Romania's efforts to diversify its trade outside of the COMECON countries. In 1979, approximately 60 percent of Romania's trade was with non-communist nations.

Romania has also passed progressive legislation which allows foreign equity ownership in joint companies with Romanian partners and which permits U.S. and other Western firms to open representational offices in Romania. At present 19 U.S. firms or their European subsidiaries have representational offices in Romania.

Our two governments have taken important measures to expand trade and improve economic relations. First, the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission has met annually to review our bilateral economic and commercial relations and discuss and resolve trade problems. Since its founding in 1973, the Commission's work has been supported by numerous experts meetings, working groups, and working level visits by trade officials of both countries.

The Commission recently met for its Sixth Session in Washington (April 22-23) and was co-chaired by Secretary of Commerce Klutznick and Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Burtica, who, accompanied by their respective governmental specialists. They discussed in detail a wide range of issues affecting our economic/commercial relations. These included current trade levels and the potential for future trade, financial matters, services for each other's firms and commercial personnel, and the development of cooperation activities such as joint ventures and cooperation in third markets. In conjunction with the Commission meeting four commercial agreements/protocols were signed:

-- AMOCO International and the Romanian Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology: to continue discussing cooperation possibilities for oil exploration and drilling in third countries;

-- Geosource of Houston, Texas and the Romanian Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology: to cooperate for 5 years in implementing seismic surveys for oil and gas in third countries;

-- ACLI International of White Plains, New York and the Romanian Foreign Trade Company Danubiana: to form a joint company for cooperation in the marketing of fertilizer, chemicals and industrial products; and

-- Island Creek Coal Company and the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation: to cooperate in the joint development of a steam coal mine in the U.S.

Second, since 1969, our two countries have maintained a continuing dialogue on a broad range of economic issues through the frequent visits to both countries by high-level government officials and working level commercial delegations, as well as by U.S. Congressional leaders concerned with trade issues. The most recent high-level economic visit occurred on April 17-23 this year, when Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Burtica traveled throughout the U.S. where he met with numerous business leaders and opened Romania's new trade promotion offices in Atlanta and Houston.

Third, both governments strongly support the work of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, which is facilitating increased contact between U.S. firms and Romanian companies and economic organizations and is helping to develop further our trade relations. The Council will next meet on September 15-16 in Mamaia, Romania. We look forward to the Council's important and continuing efforts to expand commerce between our two countries.

U.S.-HUNGARIAN TRADE TRENDS

Total U.S.-Hungarian trade reached a record high of $189.8 million in 1979, continuing the steady overall growth that has characterized our trade over the past several years. Of last year's total, $77.6 million were U.S. exports and $112.2 million were U.S. imports. Total trade for the first five months of this year is $82.1 million and could exceed $200 million by the end of the year. (See Table 4.)

For the first time since 1974, the U.S. ran a trade deficit with Hungary in 1979. The reasons for this shift in U.S.-Hungarian trade are complex and due, only in part, to the granting of Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment to Hungary. Since 1978, Hungarian products have, indeed, become more competitive in the U.S. market but other factors help to explain this trade deficit, including:

-- A large decline in Hungarian purchases of agricultural products due to a relatively good crop year in Hungary and a shift to alternative, less expensive suppliers, such as Brazil;

-- Hungary's overall trade policy in 1979 to reduce hard currency imports while stressing exports to the same markets; and

-- Several U.S.-Hungarian industrial cooperation projects in Hungary which came onstream during 1979 generated increased exports to the U.S. For example, tractor and motor vehicle parts - the top ranking U.S. manufactured import from Hungary in 1979 - led the import advance with sales increasing dramatically from $5.7 million in 1978 to $23.2 million last year. These sales are largely a result of cooperation projects between Hungarian enterprises and International Harvester, Steiger Tractor, and Eaton Corporation.

Additionally, U.S. statistics would appear to understate the scope and magnitude of U.S.-Hungarian trade. U.S. figures include neither transshipments of U.S. products through third countries to Hungary (as is the case of Hungarian purchases of some U.S. agricultural commodities), nor Hungarian purchases from U.S. subsidiaries in Europe. Hungarian trade figures for 1979, which do take these additional sales into account, show U.S. exports to Hungary of $156.9 million and U.S. imports of $115.2 million, leaving a $41.7 million surplus in the U.S.

these discrepancies between the two countries' trade statistics during the recent meeting of the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee. Both sides are seeking to minimize them so that a more accurate picture of our bilateral trade can be provided in the future.

We are confident that the long-term prospects for expanded and diversified trade are real and will become evident in the mid-1980s. This confidence also was evident in the success of "USA-80," the first privately organized exhibit of U.S. products in Budapest in April, and U.S. firms' participation in the Commerce Department-sponsored exhibit at the Budapest Spring Fair in May.

EFFECT OF MFN ON U.S.-HUNGARIAN TRADE

The most important effect of MFN has been to normalize U.S-Hungarian trade relations and to lay a foundation for future growth. While imports from Hungary outpaced U.S. exports in 1979 and resulted in a U.S. deficit, our overall trade relationship is healthy and growing. During 1979, U.S. exports showed increased diversification relative to previous years and U.S. manufactured exports in 1979 increased by 19 percent over 1978 to $52.5 million. (Significant manufactured export items in 1979 included concentrated superphosphates, measuring instruments, tracklaying tractors, insecticides, and glass rods.)

U.S. firms have indicated that since the signing of the Trade Agreement new doors have opened which can only lead to a strong, lasting and beneficial trade relationship to both countries. For example, this past April a major Hungarian trade delegation led by the State Secretary for Heavy Industry visited the U.S. to explore the possibilities of cooperation with U.S. firms on several large energy and raw materials projects. The delegation stressed that our reputation for superior technology in these fields was an important consideration in its decision to seek partners in the United States. As Hungarian firms and industrial ministries learn more about American products and technology, and our own firms become better acquainted with the needs of the Hungarian market and the way of doing business there, we expect that U.S. exports will expand at a more rapid pace.

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY

Since the signing of the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement in 1978 both countries have worked to create a favorable climate for the development of trade and cooperation between our countries. The record shows that substantial progress has been made toward normalizing our commercial and economic relations.

In the past few years, the U.S. has taken several steps designed to expand U.S. exports to Hungary. Since the end of 1978, Hungary has been eligible for trade financing programs of the Export-Import Bank of the United States. In July 1979, a $10 million medium-term credit line to finance the purchase of miscellaneous and relatively small items of capital equipment and services from the U.S. was approved for Hungary. Similarly Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits have been made available to Hungary. During 1979, Hungary utilized $15.8 million in CCC credits for the purchase of protein meals. For fiscal year 1980, $15 million in CCC credits has been allotted to Hungary for additional purchases of protein meals.

An institutional framework between the two countries is also in place. The U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee was established in March 1978 and held its second session in April this year. The Committee, co-chaired by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development and the Hungarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, was formed to review bilateral economic and commercial relations and to discuss and resolve trade problems. The Committee already has proven its worth in providing a valuable link between our two governments in the commercial field. Over the past year, for example, the Committee mechanism has been used to represent the interests of the U.S. agricultural chemicals industry to the Hungarian Government with regard to the protection of industrial property rights. (See pp. 15-16.)

Furthermore, our two countries have maintained a continuing dialogue on a broad range of political, economic, and cultural issues. This has been especially true regarding economic and commercial matters through the frequent visits to both countries by high-level government officials and working-level commercial delegations, as well as by U.S. Congressional leaders concerned with trade issues. Among others, these have included during the past twelve months visits to the United States of Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Istvan Huszar and the visit to Hungary of Secretary of Commerce Philip Klutznick. During this latter visit, Secretary Klutznick reviewed bilateral commercial and economic relations with Senior Hungarian officials including Prime Minister Lazar, Deputy Prime Minister Marjai, and Minister of Foreign Trade Veress, and emphasized the U.S. interest in the continued expansion and promotion of these relations with both Hungary and the rest of Eastern Europe.

In the private sector we have supported the work of the Hungarian-U.S. Economic Council in facilitating increased contact between U.S. firms and Hungarian enterprises and economic organizations. The Council last met in Budapest in October 1979 and is planning to meet again in Houston this fall. The Council continues to make an important contribution to the expansion of commerce between our two countries.

The presence of American firms in Hungary also has increased since 1978. To date two U.S. companies have opened representation offices in Hungary to facilitate sales of goods and services and to develop cooperation activities. In the near future two additional U.S. equipment manufacturers are expected to open similar offices. Still other American firms representing a cross-section of U.S. industry are establishing and maintaining a broad commercial presence as they continue to enter into sales, cooperation and joint venture agreements. From this presence an expanded and diversified U.S.-Hungarian trade relationship is expected to develop.

U.S.-HUNGARIAN PATENT ISSUES

An important issue in our commercial relations with Hungary over the past two years is the protection of industrial property rights of several firms in the American agricultural chemicals industry. The U.S. firms have alleged that (1) Hungarian enterprises are exporting products to third countries in violation of U.S. property rights in those countries, and (2) they do not receive national treatment in Hungary regarding the protection of their industrial property rights. The Administration has monitored closely the progress made by U.S. firms in resolving these concerns and has reviewed this progress during the meetings of the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee. In general, it appears that most of the U.S. companies' concerns have been or are being resolved and, as such, the companies have expressed guarded optimism about progress achieved to date. The Administration, with the assistance of the National Agricultural Chemicals Association, will continue to monitor further developments closely and will support appropriately U.S. firms in their efforts to reach agreements with their Hungarian counterparts. We will continue to urge the Hungarians to negotiate in good faith with the U.S. firms with a view toward resolving their differences. When warranted, the Administration will discuss these concerns at future meetings of the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee.

U.S.-PRC TRADE TRENDS

Direct trade between the United States and China resumed in 1972 and grew steadily despite the absence of normalized political and economic relations. Between 1972 and 1978, over $4 billion of goods were traded between the United States and China. Our surplus from that trade totalled almost $2 billion.

Since the normalization of diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979, U.S.-China trade has increased markedly. The value of trade during 1979 was double that of 1978. U.S. exports to China in 1979 exceeded $1.7 billion, while the U.S. imported nearly $600 million worth from the PRC. Although increased Chinese purchases of agricultural commodities were largely responsible for the overall growth, U.S. sales of manufactured goods, especially machinery and transport equipment also showed significant gains. (See Tables 7 and 8.)

Trade data for the first five months of 1980 show a surge in two-way trade. U.S. exports to China during January-May 1980 topped the $1.3 ~~$1.6~~ billion mark, compared to only $596 ~~$786~~ million registered during the same period of 1979. U.S. imports from the PRC during this period totalled $359 million, compared to $190 million for the first five months of 1979. We expect this trend to continue through 1980 with U.S.-PRC trade reaching a record $3.5 billion. The trade will be heavily in our favor with U.S. exports accounting for over $2.0 billion of the total.

EFFECT OF MFN ON U.S.-PRC TRADE

Although it is still too early to fully assess the impact of MFN on U.S.-China trade, we believe the sharp upswing in trade levels in 1979 resulted from the improved commercial climate created by the normalization of diplomatic relations and initialing of the U.S.-China Trade Agreement. In the four months that MFN has been in effect, trade levels have been running more than twice those of 1979. This is true for both imports and exports. We expect this trend to continue through 1980 although more moderate growth is likely to continue in the coming years. The Trade Agreement provides a framework for long-term, healthy growth of trade relations. Extension of the Jackson-Vanik waiver for China is critical to the continued development of this long-term relationship.

STATUS OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Since January 1, 1979, China and the U.S. have made rapid progress in expanding commercial relations.

Former Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps, during her visit to China in May 1979, signed several significant agreements including the Agreement on Claims and Assets, which had been

negotiated during the visit to China of Former Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal, and an Agreement on Trade Exhibitions. Also during the Kreps visit several science and technology cooperation protocols were signed and the U.S. and China agreed to initiate discussions on maritime and civil aviation agreements. The Trade Agreement, which was initialed during the visit, provides the framework for the expansion of our bilateral trade. Congressional approval of that agreement earlier this year was a critical step in removing some of the barriers to Sino-American trade.

Since then, the U.S. has taken a number of steps to promote exports to China. In April President Carter determined it was in the national interest to extend U.S. Export-Import Bank facilities to China. Eximbank is currently accepting loan applications and has made its first preliminary loan commitment for the supply of equipment for a steel rolling mill. Other countries have made available to China credit lines totalling approximately $27-30 billion. We believe Eximbank support will be important in making U.S. firms more competitive with other industrialized countries in the China market.

In the past 18 months, we have moved ahead aggressively in our market development efforts, scheduling a number of trade promotion events in China during the 1980-82 period. In November 1980, we will stage the U.S. National Trade Exhibition in Beijing -- one of the largest exhibitions in the history of the Department of Commerce. Over 200 manufacturers (35 percent of them small and medium-size firms) will participate, exhibiting products in five industrial sectors: petroleum exploration and extraction, transportation, power generation and distribution, agricultural machinery, and equipment for the production of consumer goods. We also expect to be exhibiting some small U.S. aircraft. A number of U.S. banks will participate and other U.S. Government agencies also will take part. In addition, in 1980 we are sponsoring in China technical sales seminars on food processing and pollution control equipment, and a video catalog exhibit on packaging equipment. In 1981-82, we plan to sponsor in China one or more medium-sized trade exhibitions, as well as four video catalog exhibitions and three or four technical sales seminars. These events will provide opportunities for U.S. firms to introduce their products and technology to Chinese end-users.

In addition to these trade promotion events in China, the Department of Commerce continues to provide information and assistance to U.S. firms interested in doing business with

China. A May seminar sponsored by the Department was attended by over 400 business representatives, an indication of the business community's sustained interest in trading with China.

As part of our commitment to expand the mutual understanding which is necessary for trade development, we also provide briefings for visiting Chinese delegations. Last year we briefed 10 delegations, including delegations from the State Economic Commission, the Ministry of Metallurgy, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade Study Commission. To date in 1980 we have briefed delegations from the People's Bank of China, the Bank of China, and the China International Trust and Investment Corporation.

We believe some of the measures taken by the Chinese during the past 18 months also will serve to expand Sino-American commercial ties. In July 1979, China promulgated a joint venture law which encourages the formation of limited liability companies in which the foreign partner contributes at least 25 percent of the capital. Chinese leaders have indicated that 100 percent foreign-owned companies are acceptable. The Chinese are currently drafting joint venture tax laws and other companion regulations which will govern the management of joint venture enterprises in the PRC.

An OPIC program for China, which is currently under congressional review, would assist U.S. firms investing in China by guaranteeing such investments. In the meantime, the Chinese have begun providing political risk insurance for foreign firms operating in China.

In October 1979, the China International Trust and Investment Corporation was established to introduce potential joint venture partners to appropriate Chinese organizations. Since then, several Chinese provinces and municipalities, such as Guangdong and Shanghai, have set up similar Investment and Trust Corporations.

These measures are indicative of structural changes China has been making in the conduct of its foreign trade as it attempts to ease the difficulties which foreign firms have faced in their commercial contacts with China.

China also has initiated efforts to participate in international economic institutions. In May 1980, the PRC became a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (IBRD). Participation in these and other international economic organizations will foster commercial transactions with the U.S. and other Western nations.

Our two governments are continuing to work together to resolve some of the outstanding issues of concern to us. Negotiations continue on the Maritime, Aviation, and Textile Agreements. While we are disappointed that we do not yet have a bilateral textile agreement, our discussions with the Chinese have narrowed our differences. Until we do have such an agreement, we will do what is necessary to protect our industry, as we have done in the past, by imposing quotas on certain textile imports from China. We also are seeking, within the context of the Trade Agreement, to improve business conditions in both countries and expand government commercial support facilities. In the meantime, our two countries maintain a continuing dialogue on a broad range of political, economic, scientific and cultural issues. We expect this dialogue to foster an environment in which opportunities for U.S. firms will be further enhanced.

CONCLUSION

Extension of the waiver authority for Romania, Hungary, and China under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 is in our national interest. It permits the continuation of MFN for these countries and is an important element for our trade agreements with them to remain in force. The waiver is also needed to continue both Eximbank financing and CCC credit programs. Thus, extension of the waiver authority will accelerate the development of economic and commercial relations with Romania, Hungary, and China, and will support the expansion of economic cooperation between our countries on a firm and enduring basis.

TABLE 1

VOLUME AND COMPOSITION OF US-ROMANIAN TRADE
1976-1980
(Millions of Dollars)

US Exports	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan.- May 1980
Manufactured Goods	49.2	61.0	118.9	100.3	
Agricultural Commodities	171.6	118.3	148.5	336.5	
Other (Primarily bituminous coal and phosphates)	28.2	80.1	50.5	63.7	
Total	249.0	259.4	317.4	500.5	287.2
US Imports					
Manufactured Goods	95.2	133.8	212.9	230.3	
Agricultural Commodities	16.1	20.6	31.4	34.0	
Other (Primarily fuel oil and petroleum naphthas)	87.5	78.9	102.3	65.0	
Total	198.8	233.3	346.6	329.3	120.5
Trade Turnover	447.8	492.7	664.0	829.8	407.7
Trade Balance	+51.0	+26.1	-29.2	+171.1	+ 166.7

TABLE 2

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA
1976-1979

(Millions of Dollars)

1979 Rank	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan-Mar 1979	Jan-Mar 1980
1. Corn	7.5	15.8	22.7	104.2	27.3	41.7
2. Soybeans	45.3	38.6	40.8	73.9	21.2	13.4
3. Cattlehides	26.6	26.7	52.2	59.7	10.8	9.6
4. Soybean oil, cake and meal	17.7	9.4	8.6	57.0	4.4	18.0
5. Bituminous coal	10.7	53.6	32.4	29.1	10.8	22.2
6. Cotton	0	6.5	13.5	24.0	0	31.3
7. Phosphates	6.8	14.9	11.0	21.8	3.1	2.0
8. Wheat	48.5	16.0	0.0	12.5	0	15.9
9. Office machinery and computer parts	2.9	4.1	8.3	7.8	1.6	0.5
10. Transportation construction Equip.	Neglig.	0.4	0.1	7.1	0.3	4.1
11. Hydraulic cranes	0.2	2.2	1.1	6.9	0	1.6
12. Chemical Woodpulp	9.4	11.2	5.3	6.7	2.4	3.0
13. Measurement instruments	6.7	6.8	5.9	5.8	2.0	3.0
14. Hydraulic & pneumatic metalworking presses	0.2	0.0	0.1	5.2	0.1	0
15. Textile machinery parts	Neglig.	Neglig.	0.1	3.7	0	0.7
SUBTOTAL	182.5	206.2	202.1	425.4	84.0	167.0
TOTAL U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA	249.0	259.4	317.4	500.5	104.8	183.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 3

LEADING U.S. IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA
1976-1979
(Millions of Dollars)

1979 Rank	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan-Mar 1979	Jan-Mar 1980
1. Leather footwear	17.8	20.4	35.2	40.9	6.3	6.7
2. Naphthas from petroleum	0.0	0.0	44.8	35.7	10.0	0.0
3. Meat products, (prepared or preserved)	13.0	14.8	21.5	25.1	4.0	3.6
4. Fuel oils	79.3	53.0	48.9	18.9	0	0
5. Furniture	4.1	6.7	11.3	14.6	2.7	3.4
6. Misc. glassware	4.4	5.2	8.9	12.9	1.7	3.1
7. Ball bearings	0.7	4.2	6.9	12.7	2.3	3.1
8. Railway cars	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.1	1.2	5.3
9. Carpets	1.7	4.1	7.5	11.0	0.3	3.8
10. Tractors	2.8	7.4	8.1	10.7	1.4	3.0
11. Knit outerwear	3.5	4.9	10.4	8.9	1.3	0.5
12. Aluminum sheets and plates	0.9	1.2	7.2	8.9	1.7	1.0
13. Synthetic rubber	1.4	1.0	3.3	8.7	2.6	1.8
14. Railway car parts	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.6	1.9	0.7
15. Preserves	1.7	2.3	3.8	5.0	0	0
SUBTOTAL	131.3	125.2	217.8	233.7	37.4	39.0
TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA	198.8	233.3	346.6	329.3	68.2	62.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 4

VOLUME AND COMPOSITION OF US-HUNGARIAN TRADE
1976-1980
(Millions of Dollars)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan.- May 1980
US Exports					
Manufactured Goods	40.0	44.8	44.2	52.4	
Agricultural Commodities	22.4	33.9	52.7	24.5	
Other	0.7	1.1	0.8	0.7	
Total	63.1	79.8	97.7	77.6	36.7
US Imports					
Manufactured Goods	26.2	20.3	33.6	75.6	
Agricultural Commodities	22.5	26.2	34.6	35.9	
Other	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.7	
Total	49.0	46.6	68.5	112.2	45.5
Trade Turnover	112.1	126.4	166.2	189.8	82.2
Trade Balance	+14.1	+33.2	+29.2	-34.6	- 8.8

TABLE 5

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS TO HUNGARY
1976-1979

(Million of Dollars)

1979 Rank	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan-Mar 1979	Jan-Mar 1980
1. Soybean oil cake & meal	14.5	12.2	32.4	13.4	1.9	7.8
2. Concentrated superphosphate	13.6	8.5	5.8	12.3	8.6	-
3. Cattle hides	3.5	4.3	4.2	5.4	1.2	1.0
4. Tractor & motor vehicle parts	5.5	6.0	5.5	4.1	0.8	1.6
5. Agricultural & dairy machinery	1.6	11.1	12.9	3.6	0.5	0.5
6. Measuring & controlling instruments	0.9	2.3	2.7	3.1	1.0	0.9
7. Glass	1.4	1.5	2.3	2.2	0.4	1.1
8. Cotton	0.0	0.0	Neglig.	1.7	-	-
9. Tracklaying tractors	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.2	-	-
10. Insectides & fungicides	1.5	0.9	0.5	1.2	0.4	-
11. Corticosteriods & analgesic drugs	0.0	0.2	1.4	1.0	0.8	1.2
12. Construction, equipment parts	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.9	0.1	0.2
13. Patent leather & leather	0.0	0.0	Neglig.	0.9	0.03	0.6
14. Seeds (grass, onion, sugar beet & vegetable seeds)	Neglig.	0.0	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.1
15. Furskin (undressed)	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.05	0.3
SUBTOTAL	43.0	48.0	70.0	52.5	16.08	15.3
TOTAL U.S. EXPORTS TO HUNGARY	63.1	79.8	97.7	77.6	23.58	21.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 6

LEADING U.S. IMPORTS FROM HUNGARY, 1976-1979

(Millions of dollars)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979 Jan-Mar	1980 Jan-Mar
1. Prepared meat	19.6	20.0	27.2	25.8	5.5	6.4
2. Tractor and motor vehicle parts	6.7	4.0	5.7	23.2	4.4	8.5
3. Electric light bulbs	3.9	4.1	5.8	8.2	1.3	1.4
4. Leather footwear	0.5	1.9	6.4	5.6	1.0	2.8
5. Acyclic organic compounds	--	--	0.5	5.4	1.2	0.6
6. Cheese	0.2	0.4	0.9	5.0	0.5	0.1
7. Manual typewriters	0.1	0.3	1.6	4.1	0.7	0.7
8. Truck and bus tires	1.1	0.7	2.5	4.0	1.4	0.8
9. Paprika and pepper	0.5	1.3	2.0	2.0	0.9	0.9
10. Leather gloves	0.1	0.2	0.3	1.3	0.1	0.3
11. Opium alkaloids	0.5	3.8	3.7	1.2	0.7	0.2
12. Glassware	.8	0.7	0.7	1.2	0.2	0.2
13. Men's and boys suits (Not Knit)	0.1	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.2
14. Wine	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.0	0.2	0.2
15. Corn	1.0	0.1	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.1
SUBTOTAL	35.6	38.3	59.2	90.2	19.1	23.4
TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS FROM HUNGARY	49.0	46.6	68.5	112.2	23.2	30.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 7

VOLUME AND COMPOSITION OF U.S.-PRC TRADE, 1976-1979
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)

U.S. Exports	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan.- May 1980
Manufactured Goods	122.2	86.9	192.5	653.0	
Agricultural Commodities	0.1	63.9	573.3	990.2	
Other	13.1	20.5	52.4	73.3	
Total	135.4	171.3	818.2	1,716.5	1,248.5
U.S. Imports					
Manufactured Goods	130.3	123.2	225.0	361.9	
Agricultural Commodities	56.5	67.8	84.7	88.0	
Other	15.1	11.7	14.3	142.4	
Total	201.9	202.7	324.0	592.3	359.3
Trade Turnover	337.3	374.0	1,142.2	2,308.8	1,607.8
Trade Balance	-66.5	-31.4	+494.2	+1,124.2	+ 989.2

TABLE 8

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS TO PRC, 1976-1980

(Millions of U.S. Dollars)

1979 Rank	1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan-Mar 79	Jan-Mar 1980
1. Cotton	0.0	17.5	157.3	357.0	68.2	275.3
2. Corn	0.0	0.0	111.7	268.5	109.7	73.4
3. Wheat	0.0	0.0	250.2	214.1	49.3	55.0
4. Iron or steel pipes, tubing, and fitting	10.9	0.4	0.6	150.4	6.1	3.9
5. Soybeans	0.0	14.4	15.3	106.7	15.9	61.1
6. Parts for oil/gas drilling, mining, and construction equip.	1.1	1.4	33.0	58.9	15.9	11.9
7. Measuring and controlling instruments and parts	2.4	4.5	11.7	46.5	6.6	11.6
8. Soybean oil	0.0	28.3	26.1	35.9	12.2	23.9
9. Oil/gas, mining, and construction equipment	1.3	0.0	0.5	32.9	2.5	8.9
10. Urea	0.0	8.1	15.2	27.2	8.7	1.9
11. Resins (synthetic)	0.3	0.4	5.6	22.6	3.5	4.5
12. Textured yarns of polyester fiber	0.0	negl.	1.3	22.4	.2	9.9
13. Special purpose motor vehicles (including truck mounted drilling equipment)	3.1	28.8	3.8	19.1	1.2	.5
14. Trucks, excluding truck tractors	1.9	0.0	5.9			.4
15. Rotary rock drill bits, core bits and reamers	0.0	0.9	13.5			2.4
Subtotal	21.0	104.7	651.7	1,39[illegible]	.....	544.6
Total U.S. Exports to the PRC	135.4	171.3	818.2	1,716.5	393.35	773.91

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 9

LEADING U.S. IMPORTS FROM PRC, 1976-1980
(Millions of Dollars)

1979 Rank		1976	1977	1978	1979	Jan-Mar 1979	Jan-Mar 1980
1.	Crude petroleum	-	-	-	71.8	10.6	18.8
2.	Women's Girl's and infant's wearing apparel (excluding knits)	3.2	6.3	6.3	42.0	4.8	14.0
3.	Cotton fabrics, unbleached	32.4	17.3	37.9	24.2	7.1	8.0
4.	Men's and boys' cotton shirts (excluding knits)	3.5	4.0	8.4	25.6	2.1	3.4
5.	Men's and boys' cotton trousers (excluding knits)	1.5	4.7	9.5	22.4	4.3	6.2
6.	Gasoline	-	-	-	21.6	-	11.4
7.	Basket work	9.3	9.0	15.2	20.0	-	6.1
8.	Knitted wearing apparel	0.7	2.4	9.4	18.4	3.4	4.3
9.	Footwear	3.4	3.5	3.3	17.8	1.9	4.3
10.	Carpets	4.3	7.3	10.4	17.2	4.8	7.6
11.	Fireworks	6.6	10.0	12.1	15.6	3.8	3.9
12.	Antiques	9.9	8.1	11.5	13.5	3.4	4.9
13.	Ammonium Molybdate	-	-	-	13.1	-	10.5
14.	Feathers and down	14.3	19.0	25.4	9.6	1.1	6.4
15.	Bristles	8.1	8.7	7.0	9.6	2.2	3.5
	SUBTOTAL	97.2	100.3	156.4	342.4	49.5	113.3
	TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS FROM THE PRC	201.9	202.7	324.0	592.3	100.8	205.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

STATEMENT

of

John E. Ray

Assistant United States Trade
Representative for Bilateral Relations

before

The Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate

July 21, 1980

Mr. Chairman:

It is a pleasure for me to testify before this Subcommittee this morning in support of extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. The Office of the United States Trade Representative supports the extension of this authority, and in particular, the extension of the waivers permitting most-favored-nation treatment for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. We believe that the extension of the President's general waiver authority and the specific waivers for Romania, Hungary, and China will allow the United States to continue and expand the bilateral economic and political relationships which have been established with these countries.

At this point, let me state for the record that USTR fully endorses the views on freedom of emigration with regard to these three countries as expressed by my colleague from the Department of State.

As the agency within the Executive Branch with principal responsibility for the coordination and implementation of U.S. East-West trade policy, as well as for the conduct of East-West trade negotiations, USTR strongly believes that the continuance of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act is essential if the United States is to continue to develop its bilateral economic relations with Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. The extension of most-favored-nation treatment has been instrumental in the development of our bilateral economic relations with these three countries. The trade agreements concluded with these countries under Section 405 of the Trade Act have served as the cornerstones for what have proven to be, and we hope will continue to be, expanded mutually beneficial commercial relationships.

The conclusion of these agreements has also proven to be an integral step in the process of normalizing and improving our relations with these countries. The development of our bilateral trade relations with each of these three countries has paralleled the development of stronger political ties, and in addition to the tangible commercial benefits, has helped cement improved political relations.

The continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment to all three countries will provide a sound basis for further progress in the development of our bilateral trade relations, as well as our overall relations. Were this basis to be removed, our relations with these countries would quickly sour.

The improvement in our trade relations with each of these countries following the granting of most-favored-nation treatment demonstrates the importance of continuing most-favored-nation treatment for these countries.

Romania was the first country to receive most-favored-nation treatment under Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974. Since the granting of MFN in 1975, U.S.-Romanian trade relations have improved significantly. Total two-way trade has increased substantially, from about $450 million in 1976 to a record high of $830 million in 1979. Romania has become eligible for Export-Import Bank lending programs, as well as Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits. Within the framework of the recently concluded Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN), the United States and Romania reached agreement on tariff concessions to be offered by the United States in return for measures undertaken by Romania to facilitate the conduct of business. The U.S.-Romanian Joint Economic Commission has met annually to review the development of our bilateral economic and commercial relations and to discuss and resolve trade problems.

U.S.-Hungarian trade relations have also improved considerably since the extension of most-favored-nation treatment in July 1978. Two-way trade increased significantly in 1979, rising to $189 million from $166 million the previous year. In the past year the United States has taken a number of steps to expand U.S. trade with Hungary. The Export-Import Bank has been authorized to loan to Hungary and a credit line has been established. Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits have also been made available to Hungary. The United States and Hungary actively negotiated within the framework of the Tokyo Round, and concluded a bilateral agreement on tariff matters designed to reduce existing tariff barriers between the two countries. The Agreement, providing for duty reductions on an estimated $26 million in two-way trade based on 1976 trade terms, entered into force on Jaunary 1, 1980. The United States and Hungary have established a Joint Economic and Commercial Committee and have used it successfully to review bilateral economic and commercial relations and to discuss and resolve trade problems.

In the five months since most-favored-nation treatment was granted to the People's Republic of China, U.S.-China trade relations also have improved significantly. In that short period of time, U.S.-China trade has increased considerably, growing to roughly $1 billion over the first four months of 1980, or almost twice the amount of the same period a year ago. Since February, progress has been made toward resolving some of the outstanding issues of importance to the development of our trade relations.

best copy available

One issue of particular concern to this Office is U.S.-China textile trade. In May the United States held another round of formal negotiations on a bilateral textile agreement with China, as called for in the Administration's textile program. While the negotiations were suspended without agreement, the outstanding issues were considerably narrowed. Since that time additional progress has been made and we expect to resolve the remaining differences in the very near future. In the meantime, the Administration will continue to take necessary action to protect the interests of the domestic textile industry.

The continued extension of most-favored-nation treatment to these three countries is important for another reason. The development of our bilateral trade relations with each of these three countries has provided an opportunity to encourage the further integration of these countries into the international trading system. In doing so, these countries have begun to accept to a greater extent internationally accepted rules and obligations governing the conduct of international trade. A case in point is the participation of Hungary and Romania in the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Since the conclusion of the MTN, both Hungary and Romania have formally adhered to a number of the nontariff measure codes and international arrangements negotiated in the MTN. Thus, in addition to the commercial benefits involved in expanding bilateral trade relations with these countries, there are also important benefits to be derived from encouraging their increased participation in, and reliance upon, the international trading system.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I should emphasize that in each case, the decision to extend MFN treatment to these countries was the result of a carefully considered policy, based on the twin goals of expanding commercial opportunities for U.S. exports and furthering the intent of Section 402. Failure to contin
the extension of MFN to these countries would deliver a majo
setback to these policy objectives. For these reasons, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative strongly urges the continued extension of the waiver authority provided under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

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Senator **Ribicoff**. The next panel consists of Mr. Jacob Bir
baum, the Very Rev. Florian M. Galdau, and Mr. Cyrus Ab
Gentlemen, this panel has a total of 10 minutes, so you divide
up between you as you determine.

Senator **Dole**. Mr. Chairman, I wonder, while the panel is g
ting ready, if I could just insert in the record a comment briefly
a statement.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Without objection.

Senator **Dole**. This deals primarily with the issue of emigrati
from Romania. I certainly intend to support the extension wi
respect to China, Hungary and Romania, but I do believe that I a
concerned about the emigration situation in Romania. We unde
stand it has increased. I have just read Senator Jackson's stat
ment. I am certain he has monitored this very carefully. I belie
there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realized
the U.S. and Romania by increasing trading relations between o
two countries. We cannot, however, overlook the necessity for po
tive progress by Romania toward full implementation of the H
sinki final act.

I would hope that reports that we have had with reference to harassment of Jews and others deserving to emigrate would cease. We must seek positive results toward these goals, and the Helsinki Accords must be implemented in letter and in spirit.

I am encouraged by the understandings reached between the Romanian government and the American Jewish organizations. There are also some indications Romania has been willing to streamline some of its emigration procedures. I know this is a matter of some concern, and I want the record to reflect that so that perhaps there will be some comment on it during the hearing.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Senator Dole follows:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. Chairman --

As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have long been concerned with human rights, and in particular the issue of emigration from Romania.

President Carter has recommended to the Congress that his authority to waive the freedom of emigration provisions of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 be extended for a further twelve months and that Romanian most favored nation trade status also be extended for the same period.

I am not convinced that the emigration situation in Romania justifies such a waiver. While emigration by Romanians to the United States has increased, emigration to Israel continued to decline in 1979 to the point where it was less than half the number who emigrated there in 1976.

I believe there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realized by the United States and Romania by increasing trade and relations between our two countries. We cannot, however, overlook the necessity for positive progression in Romania toward full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. The lengthy and obfuscating emigration procedures which prevent many worthy and eligible persons from uniting with their families must be shortened and revised.

HARRASSMENT OF JEWS AND OTHES DESERVING TO EMIGRATE MUST CEASE AND PROGRESS MUST BE MADE ON THE BACK LOG OF PEOPLE WAITING TO EMIGRATE. IN ADDITION, WE MUST SEE POSITIVE RESULTS TOWARDS THESE GOALS AND NOT MERELY REPEATED PROMISES TO TAKE STEPS. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS MUST BE IMPLEMENTED IN LETTER AND IN SPIRIT.

I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. THERE ARE ALSO SOME INDICATIONS THAT ROMANIA HAS BEEN WILLING TO STREAMLINE SOME OF ITS EMIGRATION PROCEDURES. THE LATEST EMIGRATION FIGURES DO NOT, HOWEVER, SUPPORT THE CONCLUSION THAT THE STANDARDS OF EITHER SECTION 402 OR THE HELSINKI ACCORDS ARE BEING OBSERVED.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

MR. CHAIRMAN --

THE PRESIDENT HAS RECOMMENDED TO THE CONGRESS THAT HIS AUTHORITY TO WAIVE THE FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 402 OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974 BE EXTENDED FOR ANOTHER 12 MONTHS AND THAT THE WAIVERS PRESENTLY IN EFFECT WITH RESPECT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA BE EXTENDED FOR THE SAME PERIOD. UNLESS THE GENERAL WAIVER AUTHORITY AND ITS EXERCISE WITH RESPECT TO THESE THREE COUNTRIES IS EXTENDED, THE MOST FAVORED NATION TRADING STATUS WHICH EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES ENJOYS WILL BE TERMINATED.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SIGNIFICANT MUTUAL BENEFITS HAVE RESULTED FROM THE COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS AND EXTENSION OF MFN STATUS TO THESE THREE COUNTRIES. IN THE AGGREGATE, OUR TOTAL TRADE WITH THEM HAS INCREASED SHARPLY AND A BALANCE OF TRADE FAVORABLE TO THE U.S. HAS BEEN MAINTAINED. THUS FAR WE HAVE ALSO AVOIDED THE MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WHICH CAN ARISE FROM TRADING WITH A NONMARKET ECONOMY COUNTRY. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME DARK SPOTS IN THIS OTHERWISE BRIGHT PICTURE.

TOTAL U.S. TRADE WITH HUNGARY HAS INCREASED RAPIDLY. OUR EXPORTS TO THAT COUNTRY, A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF WHICH WERE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, WERE IN THE $100 MILLION RANGE IN 1978, ALTHOUGH THEY FELL SOMEWHAT IN 1979. EVEN WITH THIS DECLINE THE U.S. HAD A BALANCE OF TRADE SURPLUS WITH HUNGARY OF OVER $40 MILLION FOR THE PERIOD 1976-1979. ONE AREA IN OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH HUNGARY CONTINUES TO BE OF CONCERN. THERE CONTINUE TO BE UNRESOLVED DISPUTES CONCERNING PROTECTION OF U.S. OWNED INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS. THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, WORKING WITH THE HUNGARIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD MAKE RENEWED EFFORTS TO SETTLE THESE DISPUTES.

Although emigration from Hungary to the U.S. is modest, this does not appear to be the result of any restrictions or repressive emigration procedures. Hundreds of thousands of Hungarians obtained government permission to visit the West in 1979, including almost 9,000 private visitors to the U.S.

As with Hungary, our trade with the PRC has increased sharply in the last several years, and has been much to our benefit. Our balance of trade surplus with the PRC, which totalled $500 million in 1978, reached $1.1 billion in 1979.

Although official emigration statistics are not available from the PRC, public statements by Chinese officials and unofficial statistics indicate that emigration from the PRC is not unduly restricted. As many as one quarter million Chinese may have left the PRC in the last two years. In view of these developments I fully support the extension of the waiver authority and continued MFN treatment for Hungary and the PRC.

While I also intend to support extension of the waiver authority and MFN treatment for Romania, I have serious reservations. As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have long been concerned with human rights, and in particular the issue of emigration from Romania. While emigration by Romanians to the United States has increased, emigration to Israel continued to decline in 1979 to the point where it was less than half the number who emigrated there in 1976.

I believe there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realized by the United States and Romania by increasing trade between our two countries. Total trade between the U.S. and Romania was over $800 million in 1979

AND THE U.S. ENJOYED A TRADE SURPLUS OF OVER $70 MILLION. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, OVERLOOK THE NECESSITY FOR POSITIVE PROGRESSION IN ROMANIA TOWARD FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THE LENGTHY AND OBFUSCATING EMIGRATION PROCEDURES WHICH PREVENT MANY WORTHY AND ELIGIBLE PERSONS FROM UNITING WITH THEIR FAMILIES MUST BE SHORTENED AND REVISED. WHILE I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND INDICATIONS OF THE STREAMLINING OF SOME EMIGRATION PROCEDUCRES, THERE CONTINUES TO BE MUCH ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT. IN ADDITION, POSITIVE STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO REDUCE THE BACKLOG OF PERSONS WHOSE REQUESTS TO EMIGRATE HAVE OSTENSIBLY BEEN APPROVED BUT WHO HAVE NOT YET LEFT ROMANIA.

THESE CONTINUE TO BE ISSUES OF VERY SERIOUS CONCERN AND WILL BE BORNE IN MIND AT FUTURE WAIVER HEARINGS.

Senator RIBICOFF. Without objection, I insert on behalf of Senator Heinz various statements and documents.

Thank you very much.

You may proceed, gentlemen.

[The information referred to follows:]

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 11, 1980

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

The forthcoming hearing before the Senate Finance Committee on the extension of most favored nation status to Romania gives us occasion once again to write you regarding the protection of human rights in Romania. According to the requirements of the Trade Act of 1974, emigration practices of the non-market countries must be given major consideration in the annual renewal of MFN status. Following the President's recomendation, the Congress now has several weeks to consider its decision in this matter.

As you know, in the past we have expressed concern that, since the passage of the Trade Act of 1974 and the Helsinki Final Act, emigration procedures and attandant harassments have worsened considerably and the lengthy seperation of many families has continued.

Last year, when the Finance Committee decided not to oppose the further extension of MFN status, it issued a statement which noted, among other things, the testimony the Committee had received relating to Romanian violations of human rights in the areas of emigration and the treatment of various ethnic minorities and religious groups. The Romanian government has promised ameliorative action in the past but has not always sustained that commitment throughout the year. We are concerned that history may repeat itself again this year.

We recall that last year private discussions were held bewteen your government and major American Jewish organizations which culminated in optimism in this country that steps would be taken to improve the situation. We have recently been told, however, that a commitment made by Romanian officials in connection with Jewish emigration has not been fully honored: "to make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously." In addition, there is evidence to indicate that little effort has been made to maintain Jewish emigration at a rate of 150 to 200 per month; nor have amnesty programs been implemented for several dozen persons charged under a previous regime two decades ago.

We would welcome your comment on your government's compli
before the Committee considers the MFN extention question later this month.

There is, furthermore, evidence to indicate that discrimination and deprivation in employment, education, religious practice and other areas aimed at ethnic minorities -- particularly the sizeable Hungarian population -- persist despite the concern voiced in the course of last year's Senate hearings on this subject. This does little to allay doubts about the wisdom of renewing MFN and we invite comment and tangible improvement in this area prior to hearings at the end of the month.

We believe that the disposition of the Congress to renew MFN for Romanian would be helped by solid evidence of public moves by your government at this time. We look forward to the early relaxation of the procedural factors which prevent so many persons from taking even the initial steps to emigrate; to the increase of emigration flow to Israel to 200 monthly; and to improvements in the treatment of deprived religious and ethnic groups.

Sincerely,

John Heinz

John Heinz

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Honorable Nicholi Ionescu
Ambassador
Embassy of Romania
1607-23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 15, 198o

The Honorable
John H. Heinz
U. S. Senator
443 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Heinz:

I confirm hereby the receipt of your letter of July 11, 198o to which I have given a very careful consideration.

I would like to bring to your attention the fact that since the signing of the Trade Act of 1974 and the granting of MFN to Romania the political, economic, cultural and scientific relations between my country and the United States have been given an additional significant impetus. Thus, for instance, if in 1975 the trade exchanges between our countries were of only 236,2 million dollars, in 1979 these exchanges reached 1o94,4 million dollars.

We are very appreciative of your personal support and that of your colleagues of the International Trade Subcommittee for the annual renewal of MFN for Romania.

I understand, my dear Senator, and I share your preoccupation with the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects, including basket three which refers to human rights, emmigration and related matters. My Government and people are deeply interested and commited to the accelerated and efficient implementation of all the baskets of the Helsinki Final Act.

1. As for the concrete matter of emmigration from my country to Israel, allow me to bring to your attention the following:

The emmigration from Romania to Israel started years ago, long before the conclusion of the Trade Agreement between my country and the United States in 1975, and the mutual granting of MFN. Today there are in Israel around 350 - 400.000 Jews who came from Romania; they constitute the largest community in Israel of those who came from a given country.

The Jewish community in Romania comprise these days not more than around 25.000 Jews, out of which around 60 % are old people who are not going to emmigrate because of their advanced age and health reasons.

That is why it is unlikely to expect a dramatic increase in the emmigration flow of Jews from Romania to Israel since the Jewish community in my country is shrinking very rapidly.

However, my Government, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, approaches the cases of those Jews who express the desire to join their families in Israel in a humanitarian manner. In 1979 - 1181 persons of Jewish origin have received approvals to emmigrate to Israel, as compared with 1141 in 1978. The numbers of those who received approvals to emmigrate to Israel during the months of January to June 1980 is double compared to the first six months of 1979. I think this is an illustration of the goodwill and humanitarian approach of my Government to this matter.

I would like to note, my dear Senator, that during the month of January of this year Mr. Jack Spitzer, the President of B'Nai B'Rith, and Mr. Alfred Moses, Vice President of the American Jewish Committee and presently Senior Adviser to the President of the United States, visited Romania and came back to the States satisfied with the way in which our party observes the points of the agreement reached with the representatives of the Major American Jewish Organizations in July 1979.

At the hearings of June 1o, 198o Mr. Jack Spitzer introduced a written statement before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations recommending another extention of most-favored nation status to Romania.

As for the procedures for emmigration I would like to underline that they start from the very moment the application is introduced.

I would also like to bring to your attention the fact that by Decree of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania of June 26, 198o, 18 persons of Jewish origin who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes have recently been relieved of the monthly payments due to the State. Those of them who expressed the wish to emmigrate have already received approval to leave the country.

2. As for the emmigration from Romania to the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany I would like just to mention that the emmigration figures show that the emmigration from my country to the U.S.A. has increased

three times and to the Federal Republic of Germany has doubled for the first half of this year in comparison with the same period of time last year.

3. As to the status and treatment of various ethnic minorities and religious groups I would like to inform you that in order to bring some light in this matter, on the basis of the findings of an authoritative source, from April 2o through May 1, 198o, Committee on Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee Staff - the U.S. House of Representatives - conducted a study visit to Romania to observe conditions in the Hungarian minority population of my country.

I would like to quote just some passages from the House's study group report:

"On balance, therefore, the staff delegation belives the mission succeded in its purpose",.... (pg.2).... "Staff's major findings are two. First, allegations of cultural genocide are not observable: the Hungarian culture appears generally healthy, although at varying degrees and at different levels, and the state does not appear to be suppressing it in direct manner as a matter of policy. Second, repression in Romania is not a disability for minorities alone",...(pg.3).

The whole report I think would make useful reading in order to have a better picture of the minorities status and treatment in Romania as they were seen on the spot by two U.S. Congress staff members.

I attach herewith for your information a photostat copy of the statement of Mr. Jack Spitzer, president of B'Nai B'Rith and an information sheet on the evolution of trade relations between Romania and the United States and on emmigration figures.

It is my desire, my dear Senator, that we, as well as our respective staffs, keep in permanent contact in order to discuss and clarify any questions of mutual interest or concern.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

STATEMENT OF MR. JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE VERY REV. FLORIAN M. GALDAU, CHAIRMAN, THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES; AND MR. CYRUS GILBERT ABBE, ATTORNEY

Mr. **BIRNBAUM.** Mr. Chairman, we have had to slightly rearrange the order of the panel because, in fact, the membership of the panel is somewhat incongruous. Even though there is a common theme on emigration, there are considerable differences among us, and Mr. Cyrus Abbe and myself are going to come on first, followed by Father Galdau.

Mr. Chairman, this is the last time I am appearing before you, and a personal word, I feel, is in order.

In 1946 I began working with survivors of Hitler's camps. My fight for the emigration of Romanian Jewish survivors of the holocaust is a continuation of that work. It is not an accident, therefore, that I have put some stress on aiding a group of survivors of both Nazi and Communist prisons in whom you, Mr. Chairman, have taken so much interest.

I am glad to tell you that my Bucharest contacts reached me over the weekend and informed me that, finally, this group was notified on Friday that by the June 26 decree 1990 were freed from their longtime penalties and could emigrate if they wished.

I wish I could say that we have achieved the same breakthrough in the general struggle for Romanian Jewish emigration as we have just achieved, with your assistance, in the five-year fight for the victims of this old anti-Jewish purge of the 1950's and 1960's. The Romanians have always been voluminous in their verbal assurances but little beyond that.

Last summer when they were in trouble with Congress, they defused the congressional momentum by reaching an "understanding" with a couple of American Jewish communal personalities.

Unfortunately, this much-touted understanding resulted in no basic changes in the procedures, patterns or tempo of Jewish emigration. And they have not kept their word to make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously.

Even Rabbi Rosen's registration lists were a single, isolated step, not a transforming process.

The real message to us is contained in the fact that only 61 Romanian Jews departed for Israel in June, despite the huge backlog of people known to be waiting. The real message is contained in the continuing pleas for help we receive from relatives of Romanian citizens day by day, week by week.

It is time that we stopped pretending that harassment, intimidation and fear do not prevent many thousands from applying. It is time that we insisted that a person going to the police station to register—why the police station?—should be recognized as a bona fide applicant without undergoing lengthy iniquitous proceedings.

During 1973 to 1974, when the Romanians were anticipating the benefits of MFN, 400 Jewish emigrants in a month was considered reasonable. After they received MFN, there was a precipitous drop to a monthly average of 167/166 in 1975–1976, followed by a substantial yearly decline since: 111 in 1977; 95 in 1978; 82 in 1979; 71 in this year 1980. I often wonder why the Romanians do not understand what a foolish game they are playing in arousing this continual and unnecessary antagonism.

It is my conviction that if we present them with a comprehensive plan with built-in safeguards, persist with it, indicating that we mean what we say, a real agreement as distinct from last year's phony deal, can be reached, and the Romanians will be as happy as anyone. But it will need the kind of renewed, "aggressive" negotiations recommended by your committee last year in its post-hearings report.

Mr. Chairman, we would welcome the same kind of questions posed to the Counselor.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Rev. Galdau?

Mr. **Abbe**. May I speak next instead of Rev. Galdau, Mr. Chairman, because Mr. Birnbaum and I are both speaking on the question of Jewish emigration from Romania?

Senator **Ribicoff**. All right.

Mr. **Abbe**. First I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and also thank Senator Dole, for your intervention with the Romanian Government on behalf of numerous Romanian Jews. I am constantly being asked by Romanian Jews who want to emigrate for help, and I am forwarding their requests to you.

Mr. Chairman, I was delighted at the beginning of the hearings when I heard your announcement regarding the cancellation of debts of 18 former Jewish prisoners in Romania. In my numerous meetings with Mr. Rosinger, a former Jewish prisoner in Romania, he always expressed great appreciation for your intervention.

However, I would like to make a request. Because the Romanian Government has previously shown duplicity such as in its failure to implement a similar decree cancelling these debts 2 years ago, and because the Romanian Government has failed to live up to the terms of the agreement it made last year with the American Jewish organizations, as Mr. Birnbaum has just pointed out, I would like to ask you if you could personally instruct the American Embassy in Bucharest to call in not only the 18 former prisoners to whom you have referred but all of the former Jewish prisoners—there are about 50 of them—to ask them which ones want to leave the country, and to arrange that all of those former prisoners who want to leave the country are safely out of Romania before any extension of MFN is granted.

This is your last term here, and I am afraid that perhaps there will be an additional duplicity and that the Romanians who went back on their word in 1978 to cancel debts of former prisoners will go back on their word again in 1980 and that these former prisoners will not be allowed to emigrate even though the Romanians have issued an additional decree.

Therefore I make this request to you.

Senator Ribicoff. Well, I would think that if they failed to proceed on these 18, this would constitute such an outrageous breach of good faith that it would weigh heavily against them in the future. This is being monitored, and I think that the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest and our own authorities feel that there is sincerity, and they have checked on these, and these are proceeding.

And this has been placed in the record, and I am sure Senator Dole will be here and there will be other members who are involved in this issue who will know what to do in the event there is a breach of good faith in this case.

Mr. Abbe. Senator Ribicoff, there were two points I mentioned. The first point was that I would like the cancellation of debts to extend now to the additional 30 or 40 other former Jewish prisoners and not apply only to these 18, and I would like to have those other 30 or 40 individuals included in this pact now, so that we don't have to wait another year before the Romanians trade relief to the other 30 or 40 individuals for extension of MFN the following year.

The second point is that the Romanians issued a similar decree two years ago concerning nine former Jewish prisoners and only Mr. Rosinger was eventually allowed to emigrate and I think this was outrageous. I don't want to have to come back to these hearings in 1981 and say the former Jewish prisoner still cannot emigrate and this outrageous situation still exists.

May I now try to respond to some of the questions you asked the State Department.

The State Department noted that approximately 800 people had received approvals for emigration by the Government of Romania this year but only 425 have gotten out. I want to correct any erroneous impression that this discrepancy is due to families, which have approvals for emigration, waiting for their children to finish school or waiting to leave for other personal reasons. Romanian Government wants to discourage emigration. We cannot give any credence to the Romanian Government's list of emigration approvals. We can give credence only to the list of individuals who have actually left Romania; we shouldn't allow the Romanian Government to pretend that people allowed to emigrate are not leaving because they have decided to wait until their children finish school.

That is contrary to the information I hear from the Romanian Jews who are trying to leave Romania.

In connection with your question regarding the census of Jews in Romania, numerous Romanian Jewish people have told to me that when the census was taken in Romania they were frightened because of anti-Semitism to mention that they were Jewish and that the census takers themselves discouraged individuals from admitting that they were Jewish. The census figures for Jews in Romania are grossly inaccurate.

Rabbi Rosen's own census supposedly includes Jews who have registered with the Jewish community in Romania, however, just in the United States, there are numerous Jews who have no affiliation with synagogues and with the Jewish community and these Romanian Jews have not registered with the Jewish community in Romania. There is an additional reason Jews are not registering in Romania, besides indifference which exists also in America, and that is their fear of anti-Semitism and their fear that registering with the Jewish community would immediately say to the world that they were Jewish. However, when these Jews want to leave Romania, they announce that they are Jewish and that they want to emigrate.

In conclusion may I say that I would like to see this committee insist on the termination of all of Romania's tortuous application procedures now, insist that all the former prisoners be allowed to emigrate and insist that the 800 or 900 Jews that the Secretary of State's office has said are on the list of individuals who have applied to emigrate be allowed to leave before you grant approval to most favored nation privileges for Romania.

Thank you, sir.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Reverend Galdau.

Reverend **Galdau**. Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the committee, I will have to make it as short as possible because I see that I don't have enough time to present my report.

Accordingly, the only thing I would like to say is that the Communist Party of Romania is as eager as ever to deny passports and exit visas to any citizen, using such sadistic means as arrest and torture and other forms of intimidation to stop people from leaving the country.

I have a number of cases here of which I would like to mention especially a case of a boy 5 years old, Bogdan, Radu-Serbu of Str. Lanei No. 13A and so on. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Radu and Mariana Serbu, are here in the United States and had been promised by the Romanian Embassy in Washington that their child would join them very shortly.

Two years have passed since. The most prominent Communist in Romania after Ceaucescu, a party official from Transylvania, has written to the parents they would never see their child again unless they return to Romania. In other words, they try to make as much pressure as possible upon relatives here in the United States so that their relatives in Romania should not come over to see them.

I have many other cases which I mentioned in my report, but I have to mention also that the Romanian Government has issued exit papers for a number of Romanians who wanted to rejoin their families here and in other countries, albeit not without repeated demonstrations and hunger strikes here, in Canada, West Germany, and elsewhere.

The presence of the people, who are from Chicago, New York, and other cities in the United States and are protesting in front of this building here in Washington, D.C, is the best proof that these people have been trying for the last 7 or 8 years to bring their relatives from Romania and they did not succeed.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Reverend Galdau, may I ask you a question?

Reverent **Galdau**. Please.

Senator **Ribicoff**. This committee is interested in emigration of all who want to leave, not just Jews, and are concerned on a humanitarian basis with people of all religious faiths.

Now, emigration approvals given by the Government of Romania in 1979 to the Federal Republic of Germany were 9,173. These were probably 100 percent non-Jews. Israel was 1,181. To the United States was 2,000. Of course, the United States does not ask the question whether you are Jewish or what your religion is, which is proper. I note in 1979 that there were 1,552 Romanians migrating to the United States.

Do you have any idea as you monitor this, of the 1,552 that came to the United States in 1979, how many were non-Jewish? Because we are interested in people no matter what their religion may be.

Reverent **Galdau**. It would be very difficult for me to give you an answer because most of these people, once they are here, I lose any connection with them. However, I believe, that the number of Jews, who came to the United States in 1979 cannot be more than 20-25 percent of the 1,552 persons, you just mentioned. Our committee is helping both Christians and Jews. For example: we have mentioned in my statement a Jew, 70 years old, Mr. Bichman, Herman and his wife Eliza—a gentile—who, for the last 3 years, have been trying to get a visitor visa to the United States to visit their only daughter, who is here in New York, and who were continuously denied their exit papers.

Any any rate, I would like to say that there were many Jewish people whom we helped to come to the United States. This was done by other refugee organizations, therefore, their exact number is difficult to get, especially because the majority of the Jewish people went to Israel.

But, as a whole, we try to help people who need our help.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Well, I mean, the point I really want to make is that while the emphasis seems to be on Israel and Jews, as far as this committee is concerned, we are deeply committed to having people of all religous faiths be able to emigrate.

Do you gentlemen know of the immigration to the United States what percentage were Jews and how many were non-Jews?

I am just curious. I would like to know for my own information.

Mr. **Tumminia**. I am the Romanian desk officer at the State Department. I would say that probably 10 percent of those who emigrate to the United States are probably Jews. That is a rough estimate.

Senator **Ribicoff**. So we had 1,500 that came to the United States and about 1,300 were non-Jewish. Is that about it?

Mr. **Tumminia**. Yes.

Senator **Ribicoff**. I think the record should be made very clear because I think this committee's concern, and I think Senator Dole would agree with me, covers the entire span of humanity, irrespective of their religion.

I have taken some of your time, so you may proceed.

Reverend **Galdau**. As far as the religious freedom in Romania is concerned, we make a very respectful request of this committee to take care of the Romanian priest, Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, who was arrested on March 10, 1979, beaten and tortured so that his wife could not recognize him and was repeatedly refused medical treatment. He was sentenced to 10 years of hard labor. He is now in the infamous prison of Aiud for saying in one of his sermons that "Communist ideology is depressing and should be rejected by anyone believing in Christ."

There are many other professionals and intellectuals who share the same prison life for their faith in God. I have here, just to mention a few cases, and I mentioned each one of them in which prison they are.

There are many proofs of other more subtle measures taken by the Communist government of Romania against religion which will take too much time to be presented here.

For these reasons, we feel that in all conscience we cannot favor extention of the Trade Act of 1974 between the United States of America and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Thank you, sir.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Thank you.

Senator Dole, do you have any questions?

Senator **Dole**. No, I have no questions, but I would appreciate it if maybe my staff could visit with you later about some of the specific cases you mentioned.

Mr. **Abbe**. Thank you so much, sir.

[The prepared statements of the preceding panel follow:]

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, MONDAY, JULY 21, 1980.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVED ROMANIAN EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE —

I. INITIATION OF "RENEWED, AGGRESSIVE EFFORT" BY U.S. TO NEGOTIATE WITH ROMANIA, LEADING TO
   - SIMPLIFICATION OF EMIGRATION PROCEDURES
   - CESSATION OF HARASSMENTS OF APPLICANTS
   - ACCELERATED REUNION OF FAMILIES AND AFFIANCED COUPLES

II. U.S. PROMOTION OF NEW ISRAEL-ROMANIA AGREEMENT, RESOLVING JEWISH EMIGRATION PROBLEMS WITHIN FIVE TO TEN YEARS

III. FUTURE RENEWAL OF ROMANIAN M.F.N. SHOULD REQUIRE SOLID EVIDENCE OF MOVEMENT IN THE KEY AREAS

Question: Have basic conditions for Romanian Jewish emigration changed since the unsigned Romanian-American Jewish "understanding" of July 6, 1979?

Question: Have the Romanians kept their word to "make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously"?

THE ANSWER IS NO.

FIVE CONSIDERATIONS

A. Harassment and Reprisals

Information and letters (see significant extracts- p. 2) confirm continuing patterns of --

1 - Fear of applying.
2 - Official avoidance of applications.
3 - Job loss and demotion.
4 - Social ostracism.
5 - Threats of conscription.
6 - Arbitrary decisions and refusal to explain decisions.

Result: *Many thousands are afraid to apply.*

B. No Simplification of Procedures

- Pre-application procedures continue to be the severest obstacle to applications among many.
- Retention of individual passports after approval by Israelis is just one indication of tight Romanian manipulation of exit flow.

The one new feature -- optional registration at Jewish community offices-- has only symbolic value, as it remains a single, isolated step, and not part of a new process.

C. Emigration to Israel Still Dropping

Only 61 Romanian Jews reached Israel in June, 1980. Emigration figures alone are relevant -- not purported Romanian "approval" figures.

The cause for the decline at this stage stems less from the ageing of the community than from fear and intimidation, problems only marginally present in the larger Jewish community in neighboring Hungary.

Size of Romanian Jewry:	The recent Romanian census counts of the Jewish community contradict each other and do not include unaffiliated Jews. A Romanian U.N. official recently mentioned 60,000; the Encyclopedia Judaica estimated 70,000.

We have the names of hundreds of Jews waiting to leave for over a year.

D. Non-Implementation of 1978 Amnesty for several dozen Jews convicted of "crimes" supposedly committed in the 1950's. Romania had publicly promised their amnesty to the U.S. Administration and Congress.

E. Israeli Authorities, abandoning reluctance to express dissatisfaction, see no progress during 1980.

STATEMENT BY JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, MONDAY, JULY 21, 1980.

Mr. Chairman, this is the sixth year that the Congressional Trade Committees are considering the President's recommendation to grant Romania an extension of the waiver of the "freedom of emigration" section incorporated in the 1974 Trade Act.

Unfortunately, we have always agreed to let the Romanians' promises of "performance" on emigration be the guidepost in place of the formal assurances asked for in the original legislation. As proof of performance, they have raised the flow of emigration to the U.S., statistically speaking, to an average of over 200 a month, that is, more than three times this year's average to Israel -- an absurd situation, considering that Israel has a far larger family reunion base than the U.S.! And the iniquitous emigration procedures and attendant harassments remain as before.

Congressional Campaign and Aide Memoire of July 6, 1979

During the early months of 1979, my forecast made in 1978 that Bucharest was about to cut Israel emigration "to a trickle" unfortunately appeared to be on the point of realization. A sustained Congressional campaign was launched in May 1979 (see material attached to last year's hearings, pp. 51 - 62, July 1979, and *Congressional Record*, pp. 6622 - 6637, July 25, 1979), whose momentum drove the Romanians to send their most experienced "Western" diplomat, Corneliu Bogdan, to Washington to talk with two American Jewish communal personalities, Messrs. A. Moses and J. Spitzer. An understanding was reached and incorporated in an "aide memoire" (attached) of July 6, 1979 drawn up by the Americans. The Romanians verbally agreed to its contents but characteristically refused to sign.

In essence, the Romanians verbally agreed that "applications [for Jewish emigration] will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously." The American Jews, honorable men but with minimal experience of Romania, stated that Romanian assurances "will hopefully remove remaining impediments to free Jewish emigration" and the problem will be resolved "once and for all".

In this way, the Romanians once again found a way of allaying the concerns of many legislators and tipped the balance decisively in the struggle within the Trade Committee, the Ways and Means Committee, and on the floor of the House, and in the struggle to make the Romanians cease taking M.F.N. for granted, to make them "sweat" for it and if necessary to deprive them of it for a year while renewed discussions between Washington and Bucharest went forward for more effective implementation of Title IV of the Trade Act. A substantial number of the 271 who voted for the renewal of M.F.N. for Romania did so with the attitude that they would give Romania one last chance to improve performance.

As many as 176 legislators, however, remained skeptical. Their reasons are apparent in the following extract from the dissenting report of the Ways and Means Committee on H.R. 317, July 18, 1979, signed by eight members:

> It has come to the Committee's attention that B'nai B'rith had a sudden change of heart on this issue. While last week B'nai B'rith was ready to testify against M.F.N. extension, they

now tell us they have reversed their position based on secret assurances provided by the Romanians. . . . If the Romanians have not kept the public assurances made to the U.S. government, how can we assume they will keep those private assurances made as a last desperate effort to assure renewal of M.F.N.?"

__The Record: 1979-80__

Now let us view the record since. Have there been any major transformations or even mildly significant improvements? Unfortunately not. Let us examine four areas --

I. __Harassment reprisals__

Here are extracts from some 1980 letters, the originals of which are in our possession:

a) *Fear of applying:* "Until now, my relatives have not dared to request a visa to emigrate for fear of being sacked from their jobs and their children being thrown out of school." There are thousands in this category.

b) *Official refusal to accept application:* "After seeking to apply, my brother was seriously demoted. . . after many interviews he still didn't receive the application forms and does not appear on the official lists. . . AND THERE ARE MANY OTHERS IN THIS SITUATION."

c) *Job loss:* "After applying to leave, my sister, a teacher, was dismissed from her work."

d) *Military service threat:* "My husband, a teacher, is not allowed to teach and is now faced with the constant threat of military service. Once conscripted, he wouldn't be able to leave for years because he would possess "secrets' They've stopped all correspondence. I'm so afraid."

e) *Arbitrary decisions, no reasons given:* "In none of our eight negative answers did they ever specify the reasons for their refusals."

II. __No simplification of procedures__

The onerous pre-application procedures are perhaps the worst of the many negative features of an iniquitous system. It should be noted that they were introduced __after__ M.F.N. legislation took effect in 1975 and the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in the same year!

One of these procedures throws interesting light on Bucharest's tight control of the emigration flow. Having gone through the manifold process to reach final approval, the would-be emigrant's passport is stamped by the Israel Embassy and then returned to the Romanian authorities who hold it for as long as they choose. This is a nervewracking wait for the applicant. This enables the Romanians to manipulate the flow as they please. Examination of recent lists shows that there always seem to be several hundred completed cases in the pipeline -- on December 31, 1979, 373; on March 20, 1980, 313.

The one noticeable but largely symbolic difference since last summer is the additional option Jews have of registering at local Jewish community offices. This would have been fine as __one of a number of steps__ in the type of new process no doubt envisioned by Messrs. Moses and Spitzer. Unfortunately, it remains a single, isolated step, though it is welcome, however limited its effect.

III. Emigration to Israel

The recent annual trend of an approximate 12-15% decline continues in 1980. The first four months produced 81, 52, 67 and 74, totalling 274. This is a far cry from the 150 a month optimistically predicted by B'nai B'rith releases. Apart from the special case of early 1979, these are the lowest figures since the 265 of April 30, 1975 when M.F.N. had not taken effect.

If we maintain moderate pressures, the current figures suggest that the Romanians will "kindly" permit somewhere in the mid-800s to go to Israel in 1980, a "mere" 12-15% decline compared with the slashing cuts from 4000 to 2000 to 1000 which occured since 1974. The statistics are as follows -- 1973 - 4054; 1974 - 4182; 1975 - 2008; 1976 - 1989; 1977 - 1334; 1978 - 1140; 1979 - 988; 1980 - less than 900.

In the years M.F.N. was debated and Romanian expectations of improved trade and political relations with the U.S. were raised, more than 4000 Jews a year were permitted to leave. It is interesting to note the remarks of Rabbi Israel Miller, speaking to the Committee on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations on May 7, 1975: "In view of the high numbers seeking to leave, it is difficult to comprehend why the emigration figures for Jews in 1973 and 1974 were so small [only 4000! - J.B.], particularly since we were led to believe some 10,000 might leave in 1974". Five years later, we're being asked to accept 60-70 emigrants monthly to Israel as adequate!

Fear is Reason for Emigration Decline, Not Ageing

The 1980 letters excerpted above support our private information that many thousands of persons are still afraid to register. They give the lie to the statement still assiduously propagated in Washington that the emigration decline is due, at this stage, to the ageing and consequent shrinking of Romanian Jewry. Though for obvious reasons older people are more reluctant on the whole, most Romanian Jews really want to leave, given the chance. The striking absence of endless letters and pleas from the larger neighboring Hungarian Jewish community is eloquent testimony to the different conditions under which people live in the two adjacent communist states.

We hope to shortly make available to this Committee the names of over 200 persons waiting more than a year to leave. We have little doubt that there are thousands more who have been waiting longer but to whom we do not have access.

Number of Romanian Jews

Unfortunately, official Washington continues to accept the Romanian thesis that Romanian Jewry consists of a few older Jews waiting to die, so what is all the fuss about? Doesn't the Romanian census give a total of some 25,000 Jews? Now, the official Jewish community has produced a census of almost 35,000 in 70 localities. But it is known that there are smaller groups of Jews scattered throughout the country, probably in well over 200 more localities. Above all, it does not include the substantial element of unaffiliated Jews, a "shadow" element, so to speak. This is a well-known phenomenon throughout the world, and would certainly not be absent from an anti-semitic totalitarian society such as Romania. It should be noted that the 1979 annual of the authoratative *Encyclopedia Judaica* estimates a Jewish population of 70,000 [excerpt attached]. Last year, a Romanian U.N. spokesman casually mentioned a figure of 80,000 [*Jewish Week*, May 9, 1979).

Israeli Dissatisfaction

Finally, it is appropriate to consider the convictions of Israeli authorities on the question of Romanian emigration performance. For years, they have been extremely reluctant to make any public or even private statements in order not to upset the Romanian-Israeli relationship. Bucharest should give them credit for this. A few months ago, the Israeli's iron curb on any expression of their extreme dissatisfaction began to weaken. Some scattered but strongly-worded articles have appeared in the Israeli press, notably in the *Jerusalem Post* of November 26, 1979. Israeli officials have become a little less reluctant to hold back. Clearly, they do not believe that 1980 has seen progress.

IV. No implementation of 1978 amnesty

Almost two decades ago, several dozen Jews were imprisoned and fined enormous sums for "estimated damages to the state." On June 8, 1978, Bucharest finally issued Decree 131 annulling these fanciful fines for nine of these persons now released. The commitment was made publicly to the U.S. Administration and to Senator Abraham Ribicoff at M.F.N. time and there was international publicity concerning Romanian generosity to these "criminals". Simultaneously, Jewish leaders gathered in Bucharest were informed that the remainder of the former prisoners would be favorably considered for amnesty before the end of the year.

Only one person, Rosinger, obtained the annulment and was able thereafter to emigrate. George Mannheim, who had the least of the fines, has been the most harassed because of his persistence. He and persons such as Apeli Chinsbrunner and ANGELO Viorica Wexler had their hopes raised before the 1979 M.F.N. hearings (Sen. Ribicoff and Rep. Vanik were duly informed of the "good news".) After the hearings, there was nothing but intimidation. The same process operated before and after the January visit of Cong. Vanik, along with Spitzer and Moses. Others in this category include Ghidali Abraham, Anne Blum, Natan Fleischer, Bernat Morsky, Isidor Reichman, Herman Rubinger, Ottilia Scheener and Paul Stefanescu.

Recommendations

As in previous years, we hold that further extension of M.F.N. to Romania should depend on solid evidence of improvement in the fundamental areas of simplification of procedures and disappearance/of attendant intimidation. As long as Romania continues to stand out among East European states on account of the hardships suffered by separated families and affianced couples, no one should be deceived by the rise of the statistical flow to the U.S.

We believe that with the humanization of procedures the major problems of Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel could probably be resolved within five years, certainly within ten.

Finally, let the present Romanian authorities cease punishing a group of older persons convicted by an earlier regime for crimes supposedly committed in the 1950's!

We would urge the Administration once more to take note of this Committee's recommendation last summer: "... to initiate discussions with Romania intended to lead to more specific assurances regarding emigration, such as those which preceded the granting of M.F.N. to Hungary ... The Committee understands the difficulty of such an undertaking but nonetheless believes a renewed, more aggressive effort must be made."

It has been our persistent belief that the U.S. has not been making effective use of its potential leverage. A moderate display of U.S. firmness and credibility will never drive Bucharest into the arms of Moscow. If the Romanians were to receive the proper signals, they would be less busy making us sweat over the fate of a few individuals and show more genuine responsiveness to the freedom of emigration provisions of the 1974 Trade Act. With a few cosmetic displays they believe that they may once more take the extension of M.F.N. for granted.

Jacob Birnbaum - 212. 928. 7451, 212. 795.8867

Appendices to Testimony, July 21, 1980

I. Aide Memoire - Heads of Agrwement, July 6 1979

II. Letter from Romanian physician

II. Excerpt from Encyclopedia Judaica on size of Romanian Jewry

IV. Opposition to MFN for Romania - press clippings & releases

V. Abbe/Dole/Romanian Ambassador/Birnbaum correspondence

VI. Congressional letters to Romanian Ambassador
  - a) Moynihan and Heins, Javits and Church
  - B) Text of House letters, signed separately by Republicans and Democrats.

VII. Struggle for Amnesty for Victims of Anti-Jewish Purges
  - a)Outline of Plight, Nov. 1979
  - b) Letters on behalf of Mannheim & Chinsbrunner
  - c)Birnbaum/Vanik/Romanian Ambassador Correspondence
  - d) Birnbaum/Ribicoff/ Romanian Ambassador Correspondence

VIII. General Human Rights Situation in Romania
  1. Washington Post Article, June 13,1980
  2. N.Y.Times Article, July 4,1980
  3. Amnesty International News Release, June 30, 1980
  4. Romania - Amnesty International Briefing

CONFIDENTIAL

July 6, 1979

AIDE MEMOIRE

Re: Heads of Agreement Between the Romanian Government and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations Regarding Jewish Emigration from Romania.

Based on discussions which ensued between Ambassador Bogdan, Ambassador Ionescu, and other officials of the Government of Romania and representatives of the Conference of Major American Jewish Organizations leading to support by the Conference for the renewal of MFN for Romania consistent with the recommendation of President Carter to the Congress under Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1974, it was agreed as follows:

1) The Romanian Government will furnish to representatives of the Presidents Conference as soon as practicable, but no later than the end of July, an accounting of the number of pending applications by Romanian Jews seeking to emigrate. The accounting will include the date each application was filed. This accounting will be furnished thereafter on a regular periodic basis.

2) The Romanian Government will invite Rabbi Rosen, the Chief Rabbi of Romania, to make it known to the Romanian Jewish community that persons wishing to emigrate are free to do so, meaning that applications will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously. Should misunderstandings arise in the future, the Romanian Government has indicated its willingness to have Rabbi Rosen repeat these assurances.

3) The Jewish community of Romania will be informed through appropriate and effective channels that persons seekin to emigrate to Israel may; but shall not be required to, obtai letters of invitation from relatives in Israel. However, persons seeking to emigrate to Israel shall receive the same treatment from the Romanian Government in passing upon their applications whether or not such letters of invitation have been obtained. It is understood by the Romanian Government that the Conference may, as a result of such letters of invitation, assemble a list of persons seeking to apply for permission to emigrate from Romania and that this list will be used by it in future consultations with the Romanian Government. Further, the Romanian Government has assured the representatives of the Conference that it will seek to resolve favorably cases which derive from such a list.

LETTER FROM FORMER ROMANIAN CITIZEN TO THE JEWISH WEEK-AMERICAN EXAMINER, WEEK OF JANUARY 6, 1980

DEAR EDITOR: I strongly object to a statement contained in R. Gordis' article "Perspective: A community that refuses to die" (Jewish Week, December 23, 1979), "The 60,000 Jews in Romania are suffered to live in peace, but most of them are old people who need to be fed, clothed, shod, and housed, essentially a humanitarian project."

This statement is an absolute lie, extremely dangerous for the prospect of the Jewish emigration from Romania. Unfortunately, this is also the official position of the mercantile and self-centered Romanian Jewish leadership.

I left Romania 3 years ago. Over the years I witnessed the picture of Jewish emigration. I was also aware, and I think with a fair degree of accuracy, of the living conditions of many (literally hundreds) Jews in Romania. I dare say that almost everyone is able to live decently, at least as far as the basic requirements are concerned without outside economical support. Moreover, since an important segment of the Jewish population is composed of "white collar" workers, their standards of living are quite satisfactory.

The basic problems for this community, so masterly avoided by your inadvertent commentator, are the complete lack of political freedom and the absence of any growth potential for university-trained Jews. To reduce an active, well educated and self-sufficient group to a "charity case" is an undignified and poorly justified attempt.

PETRE MANU, M.D.

EXTRACTS FROM ARTICLE ON ROMANIA BY ELIEZER PALMOR, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JERUSALEM, IN THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA YEAR BOOK, 1977-78, PUBLISHED JERUSALEM, 1979

In June 1977 Romania's official census was published, according to which the Jewish population is 25,600. This figure differs from the data of the Federation of Jewish Communities which are based on a registry of those in need of the community's services, according to which the number of Jews in the country is approximately 45,000.

However, the files of the Federation of Communities do not include secular Jews having no connection with the communities. If these are included it would raise the figure of the entire Jewish population of Romania to about 70,000.

* * * The process of family reunification in Israel is proceeding slowly and on a limited scale.

NEWS FROM

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

June 4, '80

PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR M.F.N. TRADE STATUS FOR RUMANIA PROTESTED

President Jimmy Carter's call to Congress to continue granting Most-Favored-Nation trade status and trade credits to Rumania has been protested by Center for Russian and East European Jewry and Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry National Director Jacob Birnbaum as "a willingness to overlook Bucharest's abysmal emigration record, thus subverting the spirit and letter of the Jackson Amendment." The Amendment, attached to the 1974 Trade Act, links a free process of emigration from communist countries with granting of a favorable trade status and large trade credits.

Outlining four major areas of non-compliance with the Amendment, Birnbaum asserted that "Rumania has made no fundamental improvement in emigration since last summer's public guarantees to American Jewish organizations and the U.S. government that 'applications will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously'. The four areas are --

- Emigration to Israel, which continues a noticeable decline. 274 left in the first four months of 1980, which would be an annual rate of slightly over 800, a considerable drop from 1979's very low 980. The 1979 figure was less than half of the annual rates for 1975 and 1976, and a quarter of the 1973 and 1974 flow. "We have names of hundreds of Jews waiting over a year for exit visas," Birnbaum reported.
- Exit procedures have not been simplified. "The iniquitous pre-application restrictions are still in force."
- Harassment of would-be applicants continues, especially job dismissals and army conscription threats.
- The 1978 Rumanian promise to the White House and Congress to grant amnesty to former Jewish prisoners has still not been implemented.

Birnbaum called on American Jewish organizations to "utilize Congressional leverage more fully on Rumania, and to insist on concrete, written assurances, accompanied by meaningful gestures of good faith from Bucharest before agreeing to support MFN trade status for Rumania in the upcoming Congressional hearings."

- 30 -

[From the Jewish Press, June 13, 1980]

MFN TRADE STATUS FOR ROMANIA PROTESTED

President Jimmy Carter's call to Congress to continue granting Most-Favored-Nation trade status and trade credits to Romania has been protested by Center for Russian and East European Jewry and Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry National Director Jacob Birnbaum as "a willingness to overlook Bucharest's abysmal emigration record, thus subverting the spirit and letter of the Jackson Amendment." The Amendment, attached to the 1974 Trade Act, links a free process of emigration from communist countries with granting of a favorable trade status and large trade credits.

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Emigration to Israel which continues a noticeable decline. 274 left in the first four months of 1980, which would be an annual rate of slightly over 800, a considerable drop from 1979's very low 988. The 1979 figure was less than half of the annual rates for 1975 and 1976, and a quarter of the 1973 and 1974 flow. "We have names of hundreds of Jews waiting over a year for exit visas," Birnhaum reported.

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Harassment of would-be applicants continues, especially job dismissals and army conscription threats.

The 1978 Romanian promise to the White House and Congress to grant amnesty to former Jewish prisoners has still not been implemented.

[From the Jewish Journal, Friday, June 13, 1980]

MFN TRADE STATUS FOR ROMANIA IS PROTESTED BY JEWISH GROUPS

New York—President Carter's call to Congress to continue granting Most-Favored-Nation trade status and trade credits to Romania has been protested by Center for Russian and East European Jewry and Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry National Director Jacob Birnbaum as "a willingness to overlook Bucharest's abysmal emigration record, thus subverting the spirit and letter of the Jackson Amendment."

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The four areas are:

Emigration to Israel, which continues a noticeable decline.

Exit procedures have not been simplified.

Harassment of would-be applicants continues, especially job dismissals and army conscription threats.

NEWS FROM

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

June 11, '80

RUMANIA SUBVERTING LETTER AND SPIRIT OF JACKSON AMENDMENT ON JEWISH EMIGRATION, EXPERT CONTENDS

Testifying yesterday on Rumanian Jewish emigration performance before the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, Center for Russian and East European Jewry national director Jacob Birnbaum asserted that "Rumania had made no fundamental improvements in emigration since last summer's public guarantees to American Jewish organizations and the U.S. government that 'application forms will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously'".

Birnbaum said that the Center's latest information showed that there was no simplification in emigration procedures, no cessation of harassments against would-be exit applicants, and a "continued, controlled drop in emigration to Israel" during 1980, with an average flow of 60 - 70 monthly, compared with last summer's forecast of 150 monthly and 300 - 400 monthly during 1973-4 when Bucharest anticipated benefits from Most-Favored-Nation trade status and credits under the Jackson Amendment.

Birnbaum stated that Israeli authorities had showed great dissatisfaction with Rumania's emigration performance.

Disagreeing with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organization's recommendation, Birnbaum declared that "after so many years of broken promises, we should make better use of our Congressional leverage. While denying Rumania MFN trade status this year, we should enter into intensive discussions with Bucharest, leading to genuine improvements in emigration. With a humanization of exit procedures, the major problems of Rumanian emigration to Israel could be solved within 5 - 10 years."

At the hearings, Reps. Richard Schulze (R-Pa) and Christopher Dodd (D-Ct) expressed great concern about the continuing difficulties of would-be Rumanian emigrants, particularly about the fact that so many fear to take the first steps to apply. Cong. Dodd said that "pending credible assurances, I would reserve the right to introduce a resolution disapproving the extension of MFN trade status to Rumania."

-30-

JTA Daily News Bulletin June 12, 1980

(page 1)

EXPERT ON EAST EUROPE OPPOSES MFN FOR RUMANIA

WASHINGTON, June 11 (JTA) -- An expert on Eastern Europe told Congressmen yesterday that "Rumania has made no fundamental improvement in emigration since last summer's public guarantees to American Jewish organizations" and therefore most-favored-nation trade status should not be extended to that country for another year.

Opposition to MFN status for Rumania was expressed by Jacob Birnbaum, national director of the Center for Russian and East European Jewry, in testimony before the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee. He contended that the Rumanian authorities have not implemented their promise to the American Jewish organizations that "application forms will be readily available and will be processed expeditiously." He said that the Center's latest information showed that there was no simplification of emigration procedures, no cessation of harassment of would-be exit applicants and a "continued, controlled drop in emigration to Israel" during 1980. He said the average flow of 60-70 emigrants monthly compared unfavorably with last summer's forecase of 150 monthly and 300-400 monthly during 1973-74 when the Rumanians were seeking MFN under the Trade Reform Act as amended by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Birnbaum disagreed with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations which recommended yesterday that MFN status for Rumania be extended for one year despite some persistent problems.

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

STANDING COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
FINANCE
JUDICIARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 19, 1980

Mr. Cyrus Abbe
14 West 90th Street
New York, New York 10024

Dear Mr. Abbe:

Thank you for your help concerning President Carter's recommendation that Romania's most favored nation trade status be extended for an additional year, pursuant to section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

I share your misgivings over the lengthy and obfuscating procedures which have discouraged many and worthy eligible Romanian Jews from uniting with their families in Israel. Accordingly, I have expressed this position to Mr. Nicolae Ionescu, the Romanian Ambassador to the United States, and Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Chairman of the International Trade Subcommittee. Please find enclosed copies of these letters.

Again, thank you for sharing your concern with me. If I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Bob Dole

BOB DOLE
United States Senate

BD:dwg
Enclosures

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

STANDING COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORES
FINANCE
JUDICIARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. [illegible]

June 19, 1980

The Honorable Nicolae Ionescu
Embassy of Romania
1607 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Ionescu:

As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have long been concerned with human rights, and in particular the issue of emigration from Romania.

On May 28, 1980, President Carter recommended to Congress that Romania's most favored nation trade status be extended for an additional year, pursuant to section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Based on documented facts, I am not convinced that the emigration situation in Romania justifies such a waiver. While immigration to the United States by Romanians has increased, the number of immigrants arriving in Israel continues to decline. Despite verbal agreement by the Romanian government in July 1979, to make available and process expeditiously applications for Jewish emigration, only 983 Romanian Jews arrived in Israel in 1979, compared to 2,034 in 1976. Through May 1980, only 364 Romanian Jews had emigrated to Israel this year.

I believe there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realized by the United States and Romania by increasing trade and relations between our two countries. Nevertheless, until a positive progression can be seen in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in Romania, until Romanian emigration procedures reflect the spirit of the Helsinki accords and the harrassment of Jews and others desiring to emigrate ceases, I see no reason why the United States should wish to grant more favorable trade terms to Romania. Certainly the number desiring to emigrate far exceeds the number who are allowed to do so.

The lengthy and obfuscating procedures I refer to have discouraged or prevented many worthy and eligible persons from uniting with their families. In particular several cases have come to my attention and I have attached a list of their names and addresses as an example, and in the hope that your government's response will indicate good will and a stronger commitment to the Helsinki Final Act. There has been some indication that Romania has been willing to streamline some of its emigration prcedures. The latest emigration figures do not, in my judgement, support that contention. However, if a significant improvement becomes evident, I would be happy to reevaluate my opposition to most favored nation trade status in 1981.

It is my hope that this issue can be humanely resolved in such a way that relations between Romania and the United States can grow in strength and friendship.

Sincerely,

BOB DOLE
United States Senate

BD:dwg
Enclosures

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

STANDING COMMITTEES
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
FINANCE
JUDICIARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 20, 1980

Senator Abraham Ribicoff
Chairman, International Trade Subcommittee
Russell Senate Office Building 337

Dear Colleague:

As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have long been concerned with human rights, and in particular the issue of emigration from Romania.

As you know, on May 28, 1980, President Carter recommended to Congress that Romania's most favored nation trade status be extended for an additional year, pursuant to section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Based on documented facts, I am not convinced that the emigration situation in Romania justifies such a waiver. While immigration to the United States has increased, the number of immigrants arriving in Israel continues to decline. Despite verbal agreement by the Romanian government in July 1979, to make available and process expeditiously applications for Jewish emigraiton, only 983 Romanian Jews arrived in Israel in 1979, compared to 2,034 in 1976. Through May 1980, only 364 Romanian Jews had emigrated to Israel this year.

I believe there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realized by the United States and Romania by increasing trade and relations between our two countries. Nevertheless, until a positive progression can be seen in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in Romania, until Romanian emigration procedures reflect the spirit of the Helsinki accords and the harrassment of Jews and others desiring to emigrate ceases, I see no reason why the United States should wish to grant more favorable trade terms to Romania. Certainly the number desiring to emigrate far exceeds the number who are allowed to do so.

The lengthy and obfuscating procedures I refer to have discouraged or prevented many worthy and eligible persons from uniting with their families. Yet some have suggested that in addition to the annual request for waiver, Romania be granted multi-year exemption. Under the present circumstances I see no reason why a multi-year waiver for MFN

Senator Ribicoff
June 20, 1980
Page Two

should be considered, and indeed feel that such a waiver would be highly counter-productive to our human rights objectives.

There has been some indication that Romania has been willing to streamline some of its emigration procedures. The latest emigration figures do not, in my judgement, support that contention. However, if a significant improvement becomes evident, I would be happy to reevaluate my opposition to most favored nation trade status for Romania in the future.

It is my hope that the International Trade Subcommitee will not extend MFN for Romania this year. Given the facts and conditions I have descibed in this letter, I believe that such a decision is a necessary one in view of the human rights commitments of the United States.

Sincerely,

BOB DOLE
United States Senate

BD:dwg

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 27, 198o

The Honorable
Bob Dole
U.S.Senator
2213 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Dole:

I confirm hereby the receipt of your letter of June 19, 198o to which I have given a very careful consideration.

I share your belief that there are many mutual opportunities and benefits to be realised by Romani and the United States by increasing trade and relations betwe our two countries. My Government is determined to make everything possible for the continuous development of the relations between Romania and the United States in all fields, including the field of economic and trade relations.

I understand, my dear Senator, and I share your preoccupation with the implementation of the Helsink Fina Act in all its aspects, including basket three whic refe to human rights, emmigration and related matters. My Gove nment and people are deeply interested and commited to th accelerated and efficient implenentation of all the baske of the Helsinki Final Act.

As for the concrete matter of emmigration from my country to Israel, allow me to bring to your attention the following:

The emmigration from Romania to Israel started years ago, long before the conclusion of the Trade Agreement between my country and the United States in 1975, and the mutual granting of MFN. Today there are in Israel around 350-400.000 Jews who came from Romania; they constitute the largest community in Israel of those who came from a given country.

The Jewish community in Romania comprise these days not more than around 25.000 Jews, out of which aroun 60 % are old people who are not going to emmigrate because of their advanced age and health reasons.

That is why it is unlikely to expect a dramatic increase in the emmigration flow of Jews from Romania to Israel since the Jewish community in my country is shrink very rapidly.

However, my Government, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, approaches the cases of those Jews who express the desire to join their families in Israel in a humanitarian manner. In 1979 - 1181 persons of Jewish orig have received approvals to emmigrate to Israel, as compared with 1141 in 1978. The numbers of those who received approvals to emmigrate to Israel during the months of January to May 1980 is almost double compared to the first five months of 1979. I think this is an illustration of t goodwill and humanitarian approach of my Government to thi matter.

- APPROVALS CAN MEAN ALMOST ANYTHING. ONLY ACTUAL EMIGRATION COUNTS. THE FIRST MONTHS OF 1980 ARE THE LOWEST IN MANY YEARS EXCEPT 1979 & NO CAUSE FOR CONGRATULATION

I would like to note, my dear Senator Dole, that during the month of January of this year Mr. Jack Spitzer, the President of B'NAI B'RITH, and Mr. Alfred Moses, Vice President of the American Jewish Committee and presently Counsel to the President of the United States, visited Romania and came back to the States satisfied with the way in which our party observes the points of the agreement reached with the representatives of the Major American Jewish Organizations in July 1979.

At the hearings of June 1o, 198o Mr. Jack Spitzer introduced a written statement before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations recommending another extention of most-favored nation status to Romania.

As for the procedures for emmigration I would like to underline that they start from the very moment the application is introduced.

Reference to the list attached to your letter I would like to inform you that Serioja Constantin and his brother Iuri Constantin (pos.5), Silviu and Monica Grumberg (pos.11), Gheorghe Izsak and his brother Andrei-Stefan Izsak (pos.14), Alexandru and Liliana Moraru (pos.17) Gheorghe and Ileana Rafael-Stefănescu (pos.19), Sergiu and Ruxandra Ratescu (pos.2o), Simon and Renee Sfarti (pos.23) had already received permission to emmigrate. I would also like to bring to your attention the fact that the persons of Jewish origin who had been tried for the so called economic crimes have recently been relieved of the monthly payments due to the State. It is my understanding that those of them who wish to emmigrate can now apply for emmigration.

I attach herewith for your information a photostat copy of the statement of Mr. Jack Spitzer, president of B'Nai B'Rith and an information sheet on the evolution of trade relations between Romania and the United States and on emmigration figures.

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 14, 198o

The Honorable
Bob Dole
U. S. Senator
2213 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Dole:

I. Reference to your letter of June 19, 198o I would like to inform you the following:

- STEFAN & EVA FELDMAN
- PETRU & GHEORGHINA SZASZ with daughter

have received the approval to leave the country.

II. Ana Blum, Viorica Wexler (Vrînceanu) and Benjamin Schwartz who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes were releived of the monthly payments to the State, by Decree of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania of June 26, 198o.

Their request to leave the country have already been approved.

III. The cases of:
- OSTFELD IOLAND (poz.18)
- ABRAMOVICI ISRAIL (poz.1)

- COPOLOVICI DELIA (poz.6)
- ERNA LEIBOVICI (poz.15)
- ABRAM ITICZON (poz.13)
- TESZLER EUGEN (poz.25)
- MIRCEA RUSE (poz.22)
- BURAGA ION (poz.3)
- CHICU DAN ALEXANDRU (poz.4)

are under active consideration for a positive solution.

IV. I would welcome any additional data you have for Herman Leiserovici, Louis Enescu, Roberto Rimniceanu and Vertes Peter in order to speed up the process of their solution.

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

July 16, 1980

Dear Senator Dole,

Your aide, Dianne Dillard, has forwarded me a copy of Romanian Ambassador Ionescu letter of June 27 to you for my comment. Before dealing with the major points, it should be noted that the Romanians have always avoided giving Washington the solid commitments called for in the freedom of emigration provisions of the 1974 Trade Act and we have accepted their voluminous assurances in good faith over the years, without checking too closely. They have rightly estimated that legislators are very busy and forget from year to year, even if they ever understood the problems. It is only recently that somewhat more systematic monitoring is being conducted by the Helsinki Commission (Lynne Davidson is the current staffer) but, on the whole, the Romanians do not take our requests in this area too seriously, witness the 1. continuation of complicated emigration procedures 2. no cessation of harassment 3. continuous decline of the flow to Israel 4. failure to implement major public commitment on amnesty for victims of anti-Jewish purge two decades ago. Their only concession is a cosmetic increase of general Romanian emigration to the U.S. to the rate of 200 a month, that is three times a the rate to Israel. This a truly ironic inversion considering the far greater size of the Israel family reunion base as compared with the U.S. !

Our experience with the Romanians is that we can get almost anything we wish from them within reason, provided that they sense that we mean what we say. An example is the above mentioned purge victims. After five years, Ribicoff and others insisted and suddenly the Romaniansissued a new Decree (of June 26) and these impossible problems of "criminals" became possible to resolve. They sent letters to Ribicoff, Vanik and the State Dept indicating that these unfortunates "have been relieved" of their penalties. Though the past tense is used, the families of these people indicate that nothing has happened, though it is now the third week. After past experiences, they suggest that we be cautious before rejoicing.

Here is a brief commentary on the Ambassador's main points:

Size of the Romanian Jewish Community: During the first congressional hearings in 1975, everyone, including the Romanians, assumed a community of 80-100,000. Suddenly, we're down to 25,000 ! Even the Jewish community census has 35, 000 with 50% over 60 years, not 60%.Even this figures is a gross under-estimation as it excludes many affiliated Jews. A Romanian U.N. spokesman last year assumed a Jewish population of 60,000 and the 1979 Annual of the Encyclopedia Judaic estimates 70,000.

The reason for the decline in Jewish emigration is not the ageing of its people but the FEAR which prevents many, many thousands

a) from taking the first step and even then, after harassments,
b) from reaching the stage of having their applications recognises
(see extracts from 1980 letters on page 2 of my testimony)

Romanian Emigration Statistics The Romanians prefer to quoteAPPROVALS in lieu of actual exits to Israel. In our experience these are suspect. We have a much truer picture if the Ambassador would state that according to an official Romanian list in possession of the State Dept 988 Jews left for Israel in 1979, compared with 1140 in 1978, 1334 in 1977, 1989 in 1976, 2008 in 1975, and approx. 4,000 each in 1974 and 3.

Further, it is fallacious to show an increase in one period over another unless the tendency for the whole year is considered. Our experience is that the Romanians reckon over the whole year and manipulate the flow at will during the course of the year, making sure however that they keep closely to their own guidelines, if at all possible.

For the first six months of 1980 we have a Jewish emigration of 425which suggests 850, possibly 900 with luck for the year - again, a substantial drop over the previous year. The important month of June brought only 42 Jews to Israel ! The average has been less than 71 a month, compared with 82 for 1979, 95 for 1978, 111 for 1977, 166 for 1976, 167 for 1975. During 1973/4 when they were anticipating the benefits of MFN, a monthly flow of 400 was considered quite reasonable. My considered opinion is that this figure could again be comfortably achieved by agreement. Bucharest has an agreement with Bonn for the emigration of 1,000 Romanian Germans a month. The internal Romanian is such that , given the chance, the majority of Romanian Jews would, unlike the larger Jewish community of neighboring Hungary. A June 1980 punblication of Amnesty on Romania shows why.

Statements of Messrs Spitzer & Moses: On the basis of a 48 hr visit to Bucharest in January, these accepted the official line. Unfortunately, we continue to receive information and letters (seep.2 of my testimony) which show that little, if anything , has changed. Spitser and Moses are not in day by day contact with relatives of Romanian citizens and their list is our list.

Above all, it is no secret that, for the first time, Israeli officials are no longer concealing their long repressed anger.

The ListsThe number of approvals is disappointingly small and do not include old cases. Worse, Rabbi Rosen's lists contain many hundreds of cases refused several times, sometimes for years.

Please feel free to call on me for further information.

JACOB BIRNBAUM, NAT'L. DIRECTOR

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 11, 1980

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

The forthcoming hearing before the Senate Finance Committee on the extension of most favored nation status to Romania gives us occasion once again to write you regarding the protection of human rights in Romania. According to the requirements of the Trade Act of 1974, emigration practices of the non-market countries must be given major consideration in the annual renewal of MFN status. Following the President's recomendation, the Congress now has several weeks to consider its decision in this matter.

As you know, in the past we have expressed concern that, since the passage of the Trade Act of 1974 and the Helsinki Final Act, emigration procedures and attendant harassments have worsened considerably and the lengthy seperation of many families has continued.

Last year, when the Finance Committee decided not to oppose the further extension of MFN status, it issued a statement which noted, among other things, the testimony the Committee had received relating to Romanian violations of human rights in the areas of emigration and the treatment of various ethnic minorities and religious groups. The Romanian government has promised ameliorative action in the past but has not always sustained that commitment throughout the year. We are concerned that history may repeat itself again this year.

We recall that last year private discussions were held bewteen your government and major American Jewish organizations which culminated in optimism in this country that steps would be taken to improve the situation. We have recently been told, however, that a commitment made by Romanian officials in connection with Jewish emigration has not been fully honored: "to make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously." In addition, there is evidence to indicate that little effort has been made to maintain Jewish emigration at a rate of 150 to 200 per month; nor have amnesty programs been implemented for several dozen persons charged under a previous regime two decades ago.

We would welcome your comment on your government's compliance before the Committee considers the MFN extention question later this month.

There is, furthermore, evidence to indicate that discrimination and deprivation in employment, education, religious practice and other areas aimed at ethnic minorities -- particularly the sizeable Hungarian population -- persist despite the concern voiced in the course of last year's Senate hearings on this subject. This does little to allay doubts about the wisdom of renewing MFN and we invite comment and tangible improvement in this area prior to hearings at the end of the month.

We believe that the disposition of the Congress to renew MFN for Romanian would be helped by solid evidence of public moves by your government at this time. We look forward to the early relaxation of the procedural factors which prevent so many persons from taking even the initial steps to emigrate; to the increase of emigration flow to Israel to 200 monthly; and to improvements in the treatment of deprived religious and ethnic groups.

Sincerely,

John Heinz Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Honorable Nicholi Ionescu
Ambassador
Embassy of Romania
1607-23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
8th District, New York

DEPUTY WHIP
MEMBER, DEMOCRATIC STEERING
AND POLICY COMMITTEE

2372 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2601

U.S. Post Office
41-65 Main Street
Flushing, New York 11351
(212) 939-4200

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES
EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN—COMMERCE, CONSUMER
AND MONETARY AFFAIRS

July 21, 1980

Dear Colleague:

The freedom of emigration for the people of Romania has long been a concern of Members of Congress. The Trade Act of 1974 required that an unfettered emigration policy be a major consideration in the awarding of Most Favored Nation trade status. When the United States granted Romania this status, its government assured us that procedures would work expeditiously, and the emigration of Jews to Israel would be maintained at a level of 150 to 200 families a month.

Alas, these assurances have not been translated into policy. The emigration procedures in Romania remain cumbersome and the number of Jews emigrating from Romania to Israel has averaged 70 per month for 1980.

I believe that the renewal of Most Favored Nation status for Romania required a fulfillment of the promises made by the Government of Romania. I am sending the attached letter to Ambassador Nicolae Ionescu of Romania. If you would like to join me in signing it, please have a member of your staff telephone Marc Albrecht or Phillip Steck at 225-2601 by July 30th.

Sincerely,

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 31, 1980

His Excellency Nicholae Ionescu
Embassy of the Socialist
Republic of Romania
1907 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

According to the freedom of emigration requirements in the Trade Act of 1974, it is appropriate to require that a non-market country's emigration performance be a major consideration in the annual renewal of Most Favored Nation trade status. Following the June 10th hearings of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, Members of Congress now have several weeks to ponder the President's recommendation.

Unfortunately, at this time, we can find no real progress in the simplification of emigration procedures, many of which were instituted after MFN was initially granted to your government. There has been no cessation of harassment of potential emigrants which has continued the lengthy separations of many families and affianced couples. While the carefully controlled emigration flow to the United States has been statistically maintained, emigration to Israel, which is by far the largest family reunification base, continues to plummet and now averages only about 60 or 70 individuals per month. This is only one third of the number emigrating to the United States which represents an extraordinary reversal.

We understand that three public commitments made by Romanian Government officials, in connection with Jewish emigration, have not been kept. These are: first, that the Romanian Government would "make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously," second, that the Romanian Government would maintain Jewish emigration to Israel at the rate of 150 to 200 individuals a month and, third, that the Romanian Government would implement amnesty for former prisoners charged two decades ago.

We are also concerned about the continuing reports of religious repression and the use of psychiatric facilities against persons of dissenting opinions, as well as the cultural restrictions suffered by the Hungarian minority. Along these lines, we are particularly concerned about the fate of Orthodox Priest Gheorghe Calciu and would like to express our desire that Father Calciu be immediately granted amnesty for his alleged crimes.

We believe that the renewal of Most Favored Nation trade status for Romania requires solid evidence of positive moves by your government. In our opinion, this should include an immediate easing of the procedural and intimidational factors which prevent so many people from taking even the initial steps to emigrate, and taking the necessary steps to improve the religious and cultural situation facing deprived religious and ethnic groups.

Sincerely,

THE PLIGHT OF THE SURVIVORS OF GEORGHIU'DEJ$S ANTI JEWISH TRIALS. THE FIGHT FOR THEIR AMNESTY. DECREE 131, JUNE 8, 1978.

During the latter 1950s and early 1960s ,former Romanian President G. Georghiu-Dej'purged' his administration of Jews. During 1957/8, Jews were excluded from the Home and Foreign Ministries, from Oct. 1958 from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other state commercial enterprises. Thereafter, the SECURITAS(Romanian equivalent of Soviet KGB) made mass arrests of these people , brutally interrogated them from one and a half to three years, without their seeing their families or a lawyer, brought them to trial on charges of "undermining the National Economy" and sentenced them to long terms at hard labor and enormous fines of 'estimated damages' to the State, based on the current dollar rate !

Here is a characteristic extract from an earlier document: "They arrested 18 Jews from the company's management group.Initially, they attempted to set up a Zionist trial . Subsequently, realising that this was impossible, they changed it into a sabotage trial".

It is hard to estimate the total number of persons tried but every few months I hear of more, so far 51. Earlier, of course, there were many more trials, mostly of a Zionist ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ U.S. Imperialist conspiracy type.In regard to the 1959/64 trials, only two persons appear to have been guilty of some misconduct and even they have long ago paid their dues.

The survivors - a number have died - are now out of prison, many are elderly and ailing but all are saddled with those impossible to pay fines for which they will have to continue paying 1/3 of their meager incomes till the end of their days and their widows after them. As one of a group dies, survivors of that group have to assume the 'debts' of the deceased. The Romanian authorities are implacable in their persecution after two decades !

After several years of my campaigning on behalf of these P people, a breakthrough occurred. On June 8, 1978 President Ceausescu issued Amnesty Decree # 131 to the Romano Export group of former prisoners. 19 persons were originally announced in a burst of extensive international publicity generated by Bucharest. In the list, conveyed to the American Embassy and Senator A. Ribicoff in time for the Senate Finance Committee's Trade Subcommitttee hearings on the continuation of Most Favored Nation Trading status for Romania,only 9 names were listed. Assistant Secretary of State George Vest personally handed me the list at the commencement of the Hearings.

The 9 's debts were to be amnested ~~and , on the bas~~is of this 'forgiveness' for their debts, they would henceforth be able to emigrate.

Unfortunately, only one man - Rosinger - was released, the others were not even notified! When some of the less fearful made inquiry, having heard of the Amnesty on Radio Free Europe, they were rudely rebuffed and continue to lose 1/3 of their income .

After numerous inquiries to the Romanian authorities from Washington, Rabbi Rosen informed the U.S.Embassy in the spring that most of the remaining 8 did not wish to emigrate. He said nothing

He said nothing of the continued 1/3 deduction of income. Soon after, shortly before the House and Senate Trade Committees' Hearings, one of the 8, Georghe Mannheim, was suddenly given the large emigration form - another triumph of Romanian humanitarianism duly communicated to Chairmen Ribicoff and Vanik. Immediately after the Hearings. however, Mannheim was told that Amnesty Decree # 131 was " a figment of his imagination ; he was demoted in his job and his daughter sent to work in trying conditions out of town.

I attach written evidence of the desperate desire of

1. GEORGHE MANNHEIM (STR. PODUL GIURGIULUI # 1, BUCHAREST _ PHONE 85 21 68)
   and of
2. ANGELO EINSBRUNNER (ROSETTI 7 BUCHAREST) TO EMIGRATE.
   KH

As for the other 6, 3 decades of work with East Europeans makes me pause before accepting the word of a Romanian official such as Rabbi Rosen as to their real desires.

OTHER FORMER PRISONERS

Decree 131 was issued shortly before the 30th anniversary celebrations of Rabbi Rosen's assumption of leadership. Invited Jewish personalities from other lands were informed that other former prisoners would be considered for amnesty before the end of the year. Nothing happened.

3. Viorica WEXLER, str. BOLINTEANU 2, Bucharest - phone : 13 37 18

As a result of congressional pressures, Mrs Wexler's name appeared on Romanian approval lists circulated to several Congressmen before the 1979 Trade Committees Hearings (see attached) but she was not notified.. The 1978 congressional record of the Hearings contains my insertions of an important document from her, smuggled out of Romania.(attached copy). She was in some trouble as a result but there was obvious response from the Romanians. Unless, however, there is furthercongressional pressure on the Romanian authorities to keep their word, nothing will happen and she will be afraid to take further energetic steps to free herself, for lack of encoragement and support.

4. Bernat MORSKY, str. NEGUSTORI, 14, Bucharest

Separated 15 years from wife in Israel and daughter in U.S. Romanian Emassy circulated his name on congressional approval lists in 1976. He is said to have been the 10th man dropped from the June 8, 78 Decree. He is registered on Rabbi Rosen's list as an old applicant.

5. Ghidali ABRAHAM, UDRICANI 26, Bucharest

Brothers in US. and Israel. Apparently had visa from West several years ago but not permitted to leave. Registered on on Rosen's list for Israel.

6. Anna BLUM, str. POPE SOARE 52, Bucharest

Ailing 65 year old woman , abandoned by husband when she was caught up in the network of trials. Now waiting to join her old aunt in Israel for nearly 20 years. Registered on Rosen's list.

Page8. Amnesty for former Romanian Prisoners

str. KOGAN

7. Pariacheva PAL, str. [illegible]laiceanu 27. DEJ, Reg. CLUJ

8. Another sad case, widow saddled with her husband's 'debts'.
PERMITTED TO LEAVE DEC-78.
Sara FAIBISH, Com. BACESTI

Reportedly sick. Appeared on congressional lists of approvals 1976 circulated by Romanian Embassy. Has sister in Israel.

9. Nathan FLESCHER, str. CASTANULOR, BACAU

Now saddled with 'debts' of deceased colleagues of his former trade group. Desperate to leave, lives in fear of reprisal s against son and family.

10. Jacob YOSIF, NASSAUD REG. M. EMINESCU 12, CLUJ

Brothers in Israel, cousins in U.S. Had visa for Western country 1964, was refused permission to leave , xxxxxxx last time reapplied 1977, again refused.

11. Ottilia SCHREIBER, CAL. GRIVITEI 67, Bucharest

Aunt in Israel. ~~[illegible]~~ Registered on Rosen's list as an old applicant

12. Herman RUBINGER, STR. NICOS BELOIANIS, 9 Bucharest.

'Debts' since 1954. Children in Israel and Canada.

In the next year or so, I expect to obtain more specific information as to the emigration wishes of more of these people. In the meantime, all the people appearing on the list of Lyn Davidson of GSCJ must be regarded as potential emigrants on account of their sufferings in Romania. I know the names of several of these former prisoners who as recently as a couple of years ago, sent out urgent messages seeking help to emigrate but have changed their minds for the time being. In some cases, the reasons for that change is clearly associated with the fear generated by the continued pressures of a Stalinist type regime.

SOURCES Documents provided by the former prisoners and their relatives, including a ' Black Book' on the 1959/64 Trials just received; an article in the NY Jewish Press of May 22, 1975; references in periodical brochure, 'Jews in Eastern Europe', published in London during the 1960s.

JACOB BIRNBAUM

NOV. 1978

Andrei Mannheim
3780 Dupuis #23
Montreal Que.
Canada H3T 1E6

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum
Center for Russian & East European Jewry
656 W 162nd St.
New York N.Y. 10032

Montreal, April 7 1980

Dear Mr. Birnbaum,

As per our last phone conversation I am sending you a brief summary of the most recent developments in my family's case:
- In early January 1980 my father has been called to the Jewish Community Headquarters in Bucharest, where along with other persons in similar situation (former political prisoners) he has presented his case before 2 delegates from U.S.A (MR. Mosesfrom the American Jewish congress and Mr. Spitzer from Bnei Brith)
- Later in January he asked for an audience with Rabbi Rosen who informed him that negotiations are under way to obtain his exit visa, as well as for other persons involved in former political trials.
- On February 19, 1980 my father went for the 2nd time (with my mother) to see Rabbi Rosen. Again he has been told that his case is being pursued with high ranking Romanian officials.
- At the end of January, in a outrageous fashion my father has been removed from his job (no explanations) and he has been assigned to work at a much lower level, with a lower salary.

Dear Mr. Birnbaum, I hope you can use this letter to pursue my family's case with the American officials who were promised by the Romanian Government almost two years ago that my father will be allowed to leave in order to join me. I simply cannot understand why my family must stand such a harassment when their situation seemed to be almost solved a while ago.

As long as that Decree 131 of June 1978 was given to the American authorities as the base to allow innocent people to reunite with their families, I think they should follow up how promises actually were transformed into reality, how the Romanian officials do not respect a public committment.
Unfortunately my family's situation is desperate and they simply cannot stand it any longer. Please let me know of any new developments. Thanking you for your precious help, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Andrei Mannheim

Mannheim

Cecilia Zivi
30, Allée des Délicieuses
78430 LOUVECIENNES

Paris, November 22nd 1978

1978 NOV 27 PM 12 39

Mr.Abraham RIBICOFF
Senator of Connecticut
WASHINGTON D.C.

Dear Sir,

I apologize for presuming of your precious time but I have been informed that subsequently to your personal intervention, the Romanian President, Mr.Nicolae Ceausescu, signed the decree No.131 of June 1978, by which nine Jews, victims of an antisemitic trial were amnestied. The Romanian Government made great fuss about this act of clemency in order to obtain the "most favoured nation", which they did.

In Romania this decree was neither published nor executed. The only beneficiary was Mr.Adalbert [illegible], the main accused of the group mentioned above, who already left the country. The other eight victims remained to pay the imaginary astronomic fine, deducted from their salary or pension. Among these latter is also my cousin, Mr.Angelo Chinzbrunner, whom we warmly wish to have among us.

As soon as the communist regime was set up in Romania, Mr.Chinzbrunner tried to leave the country but his application made in 1948 and 1951 were refused by the Romanian authorities. After having been released from prison, in 1968, he could no longer try to apply because all requests for permission to emigrate from Romania must be accompanied by documents from the Finance Ministry, proving that the person concerned has no debts towards the state. Unfortunately he could not produce such a document since he was sentenced to pay a large fine.

Our warmest wish is the reunion of our family and that is why I take the liberty to kindly ask you to make a new intercession reminding the Romanian President the decree No.131 signed by himself, of which my cousin is also entitled to benefit, that is be exempted of the payment of the fine and, consequently, be able to apply for emigration together with his wife, Mrs.Silvia Chinzbrunner and his sister-in-law, Mrs.Margareta Marcel. May I please ask you to contact President Ceausescu directly for I am sure that a mistake has been made in carrying out this decree, for surely he would not risk losing his right to the "most favoured nation".

I would be very grateful to you if you could help us in this matter.
With many thanks

Sincerely yours

C. Zivi

Recevd My 5, 1980

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

AL ULLMAN, OREG., CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

April 22, 1980

The 8

CRAINIC, M.
COSTIN A.
GRIGORESCU, S.
SCHWARTZ, B.

E

RADO, A
STEFANESCU, P.
CHINSBRUNNER, A
MANNHEIM, G

Mr. Jacob Birnbaum
240 Cabrini Boulevard
Apartment 5b
New York, New York 10033

Dear Mr. Birnbaum:

At your request, I have made further inquiries concerning the status of the nine individuals convicted of economic crimes in Romania and amnestied pursuant to Decree No. 131 of June 8, 1978.

In response to my inquiry I have received the following report from the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest. One of the nine individuals, Mr. Rossinger, emigrated September, 1978. Four of the nine, Messrs. Crainic, Costin, Grigorescu and Schwartz, have indicated that they do not wish to emigrate. I understand that all of these gentlemen are elderly. Two individuals, Messrs. Rado and Stefanescu, have not yet decided whether they wish to emigrate. Thus far, neither has registered for emigration. Mr. Chinbrunner does indeed wish to leave Romania. However, he apparently has not yet decided if he wishes to depart for Israel or West Germany. Mr. Mannheim's application to emigrate has not yet been granted. With respect to the latter of these two gentlemen, I am, of course, continuing my efforts to expedite their departure.

I understand that the information relating to those individuals expressing a desire to stay in Romania was obtained through separate conversations between a U.S. embassy official and an official of the Israeli Embassy and Rabbi Rosen of the Jewish Community Center.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Vanik
Chairman

CAV:JAw

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

June 13, 1980

Dear Representative Vanik,

Thank you for your letter of Aprill 22, received May 5 in response to mine of Jan.4 in which I enclosed a " summary of my most current materials on the victims of the Romanian 'scapegoat'trials two decades ago" and sought your intervention on their behalf. Though you set out out to discuss "the status of the nine individuals ..... amnestied pursuant to Decree 131 of June 8, 1978", you did not deal with the conditions of that Amnesty which meant that they should no longer be deprived of 1/3 of pensions/wages. Only then would they have the option of attempting to take the first step in the Romanian emigration process..

As to the current emigration desires of the 8 still affected by 131, I am making further inquiries but the difficulties of contact with individuals in Romania are known to you. We do know that these people have been "talked to" since 1978 and that some originally interested in emigration as Stefanescu,Radu, Costin, have not till now renewed their pleas to leave, not even Benjamin Schwartz whose son and daughter-in-law and other family are in Israel. Our experience indicates that under changed conditions, People like Mr Schwartz would not stay five more minutes in Bucharest. A few days ago, I received a letter from a relative of Chinsbrunner begging for renewed inter vention with Bucharest after his hopes had been raised following your January visit. Even worse was the bad faith shown to Naumheim , who had originally received the smallest punishment of the group, but is now being harassed the most on account of his persistence. At the time of the 1979 congressional hearings, there was some movement in his case. Immediately after, he was demoted from his job and roughly treated. Hopes rose again with your visit and after you left the job demotion was much more severe and he was warned to desist. According to his son, he and his family are frightened desperate people. re Grigorescu, we heard last yearthat she had given up the idea of leaving but we know little about her and re Greinic, we have no information.

As you know, this group was part of several dozen people - exclusively Jewish- who were supposed to have harmed the State during the 1950s for showing what we would consider some intelligence and moderate initiative in their work in Trade agencies of the Government. Very few were accused of enriching themselves. Some have died, others sickened, others retired into traumatised obscurity and a few kept alive their will to leave. Among the latter, all with relatives in Israel, are Ana Blum,. V.Wexler,S.Faibish, B.Moresky, who have appeared on Romanian 'approval'lists for congressmen. Others include:G.Abraham,M.Fleischer, I.Reichman,M.Rubinger,O.Schoener.

This is stillMFN time and we hope for your continued intervention on their behalf.

JACOB BIRNBAUM, "NAT'L" DIRECTOR

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 3o, 198o

The Honorable
Charles A. Vanik
U.S. Congressman
21o8 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o515

My dear Mr. Vanik:

1. Being aware of your deepest concern with the human rights and emmigration issues I hasten to inform you that the persons who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes, known as the Rosinger group, have been recently relieved of the monthly payments due to the State. Accordingly, they are no longer obligated to pay one third of their salaries or pensions to the State.

It is my understanding that now, being relieved of the payments, those of the above-mentioned who wish to emmigrate can apply for emmigration.

2. I would like also to inform you that recently the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially informed the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest that the Romanian competent authorities are ready and prepared to arrange for a rogatory

comission in Bucharest on the Trifa case in the presence of U.S. Attorneys from the Department of Justice. During their stay in Bucharest the U.S. Attorneys will have the possibility to authenticate, according to the requirements of the American Law, those documents that have not been previously authenticated and also to consult some additional archives.

I would very much appreciate, my dear Mr. Vanik, if your staff found the possibility to inform Congresswoman Holtzman about all these developments in the Trifa case and thus provide a reply to her letter to you of June 1o,198o.

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry

May8, 1980

Dear Senator Ribicoff,

In recent years you have been active ih assisting former 'scapegoat' prisoners in Romaniaand the Romanian authorities made a commitment to you in June 1978 to amnesty a group of [illegible] nine (Decree 131)/

The thrust of the Amnesty was twofold:

1. Annulment of perpetual payment of 1/3rd wages/pension.
2. Permission to emigrate.

Unfortunately, the first part of the Amnesty tends tobe totally neglected in discussion as well as in practice. In regard to emigration, only Rosinger left and there has been no movement in either area for the other 8.

The treatment of Mannheim indicates Romanian belief that Washington is rather easily deceived. Your files contain correspondence from his son Andre which show that his father's expectations were falsely aroused shortly before your last MFN hearings and immediately thereafter rudely dashed. An equally, cruel manipulation followed in January of this year [illegible] in connection with an American delegation's visit, after which he suffered a major job demotion.

In addition to Mannheim and Chinebrunner, it is likeky that Rado and Stefanescu wish to leave . Officials indicate that theother 4 do not but my experience of the politics of fear suggest that this need not be taken as the last word.

Additionally, there are other former prisoners whose names have appeared on Approval Lists circulated by Romanians among members of the Congress in he past and were supported by the Trade Committee. These include Viorica Wexler, Surica Faibish, Bernat Morsky, Shidali Abraham. There is anna Blum, 65, ailing and alone who has been waiting to join her aunt in Israel for nearly 20 years. Other longtime cases implacably kept to rot in Romania include Nathan Flesher, Yakov Yosif, Ottilia Scheener , Herman Rubinger.

In this period before the President's recommendation and the congressional hearings, when the Romanians are most amenable, we should insist on some solid gestures re these people - remission of the 1/3 deductions promised and permission to emigrate (not just to one or two either), as well as improved emigration flow to Israel. Despite the Bogdan-Spitzer 'understanding', annual totals are still diminishing and not because of the ageing Jewish population.

Jacob Birnbaum
National Director

7 enclosures.

HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.
LAWTON CHILES, FLA.
SAM NUNN, GA.
JOHN GLENN, OHIO
JIM SASSER, TENN.
DAVID H. PRYOR, ARK.
CARL LEVIN, MICH.

CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., DEL.
TED STEVENS, ALASKA
CHARLES MC C. MATHIAS, JR., MD.
JOHN C. DANFORTH, MO.
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
DAVID DURENBERGER, MINN.

RICHARD A. WEGMAN
CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 18, 1980

His Excellency
Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador of the
Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am writing to you regarding a number of outstanding emigration cases which I have discussed with Romanian officials for more than two years.

It has been my understanding, on the basis of both conversations and a letter from former Ambassador Nicolae, that those individuals pardoned by Decree Number 131 of June 8, 1978 would receive permission to emigrate.

In addition, it was my understanding that a number of other persons, in similar circumstances to those mentioned in the June Decree, would receive official pardon and therefore no longer be obligated to pay one-third of their salaries or pensions to the State and would receive permission to emigrate.

During the past year, my staff on several occasions has brought this matter to the attention of your staff. I consider these outstanding cases a serious issue. The extension of Most Favored Nation trading status for Romania in 1978 and 1979 was based on Romanian emigration policies including the June Decree.

I would appreciate knowing the status of each case mentioned in the attached list and whether these individuals still have official debts to the State and have been notified of their eligibility to emigrate.

Sincerely,

signed AR

Abe Ribicoff

EMIGRATION CASES

Georghe Manheim

Beniamin Schwartz

Alexandru Rado

Mihai Crainic

Paul Stefanescu

Sidonia Grigorescu

Alexandru Costin

Angelo Khimbsbruner

Victoria Wexler

Ghidali Abraham

Anna Blum

Nathan Fleischer

Sara Faibish

Bernat Morsky

Parischeva Pal

Isidor Reichman

Herman Rubinger

Ottilia Scheener

From Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-Conn.)
Release AM Friday, July 4, 1980
Romanian dissidents

The Romanian government has informed Senator Abe Ribicoff (D-Conn.) that eight political dissidents, arrested for so-called economic crimes, will no longer be punished and may now apply to emigrate.

Senator Ribicoff has been working for more than two years to achieve emigration status for this group of eight plus 10 others who have sought to emigrate for several years. He said he is encouraged by this action but urged Romania to allow the remaining 10 men and women to emigrate as well.

The group of eight were found guilty of so-called economic crimes in the 1960's, imprisoned and, upon release, required to pay the government one-third of their salaries or pensions.

It was reported that a decree of June 8, 1978 pardoned eight of the Romanians but no proof of this was ever put forward. The U. S. government's decision to grant Most Favored Nation status to Romania for 1978 and 1979 was influenced by Romania's assurances that the pardon decree would be implemented.

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade, Senator Ribicoff urged the Romanians to confirm that all 18 dissidents were free to emigrate. Senator Ribicoff told the Romanians that their request for continued Most Favored Nation trading status with the U. S. would be more favorably received if they treated those seeking to emigrate more fairly. A test of this attitude, he said, would be the decision to let the group emigrate. This group of eight originally included a ninth member, Adalbert Rossinger, whose case became internationally known. Senator Ribicoff was instrumental in Romania's decision to allow Rossinger to emigrate in 1978.

On June 18, 1980, Senator Ribicoff wrote to Nicolae Ionescu, the Romanian ambassador to the U.S., to point out that, while assurances had been given for two years, the question of what had happened to the group of 18 was still in doubt. Senator Ribicoff asked if the dissidents were no longer required to make the payments to the government and were free to emigrate.

Ambassador Ionescu replied in a June 30, 1980 letter to Senator Ribicoff to say that eight Romanians had been recently relieved of the requirement to make the payments to the government and that they are free to apply to emigrate.

Trade with the U.S. is economically and politically important to Romania. In 1979, the Department of Commerce approved 38 export licenses to allow for the sale to Romania of high technology goods such as jet engines, computers and computer parts.

U.S. officials believe Romania considers access to U. S. high technology oil exploration and coal extraction equipment a national objective of top priority.

Despite formal assurances to the contrary, Romania has yet to implement a consistent emigration policy, Senator Ribicoff said. The process of issuing exit visas is arbitrary, lengthy and complex, he said, explaining that the process itself is so difficult that it deters persons who want to emigrate.

Attached are Senator Ribicoff's letter of June 18, Ambassador Ionescu's reply of June 30 and a list of the 18 dissidents. The first eight are affected by the recent action and may now apply to emigrate.

#

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 3o, 198o

The Honorable
Abraham Ribicoff
U.S.Senator
337 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Ribicoff:

Reference to your letter of June 18, 198o I would like to inform you that the persons who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes, known as the Rosinger group, have been recently relieved of the monthly payments due to the State. Accordingly, they are no longer obligated to pay one third of their salaries or pensions to the State.

It is my understanding that now, being relieved of the payments, those of the above-mentioned who wish to emigrate can now apply for emmigration.

Most sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 14, 198o

The Honorable
Abraham Ribicoff
U.S. Senator
337 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Ribicoff:

Reference to your letter of June 18, 198o I would like to inform you the following:

I. By Decree of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania of June 26, 198o, the following persons who had been tried for the so-called economic crimes were relieved of the monthly payments to the State:

- SAMI EDELSTEIN
- PAVEL DONATH
- MICU SUZIN
- MILEA VULICH
- OTTILIA SCHENER (MINTZER)
- ANA BLUM
- VIORICA WEXLER (VRINCEANU)
- ALEXANDRU RADO
- MIHAI CRAINIC
- BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ

- ALEXANDRU COSTIN
- STEFANESCU PAUL
- SIDONIA GRIGORESCU
- ANGELO KHINSBRUNER
- GEORGE MANHEIM
- BERNAT MORSKI
- ISIDOR REICHMAN
- GHIDALI ABRAHAM

II. Ana Blum, Benjamin Schwartz and Viorica Wexler (Vrînceanu) requested to leave the country and they have been already granted the approval to leave.

III. Parischeva Pal has already left the country.

IV. The cases of Nathan Fleischer and Herman Rubinger are under active consideration.

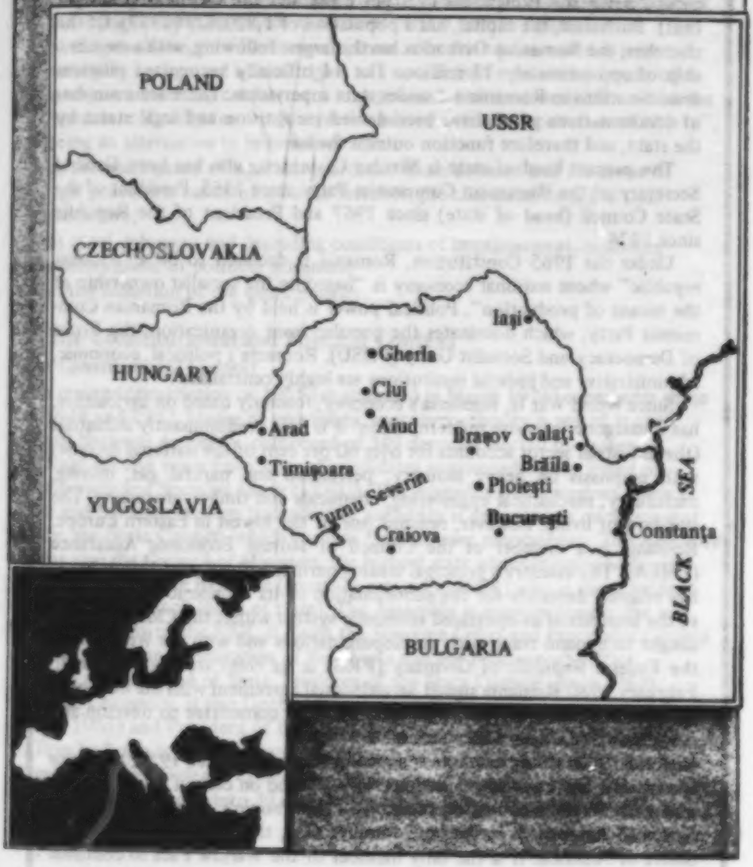
However, this Embassy would welcome very much to receive any available data on the above-mentioned cases, in order to be able to speed up the process of their solution.

V. Sara Faibish who had requested to leave the country has recently renounced to leave.

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

ROMANIA


POLAND
USSR
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Iaşi
Gherla
HUNGARY
Cluj
Aiud
Arad
Braşov
Galaţi
Timişoara
Brăila
Turnu Severin
Ploieşti
YUGOSLAVIA
Bucureşti
Constanţa
Craiova
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA IN OUTLINE

Romania lies in southeast Europe; it is bounded by the USSR, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and by the Black Sea. The total area is 237,500 square kilometres, and its population (July 1978) 21,855,000. A census of 5 January 1977 recorded 47.5 per cent of the population as urban. According to official statistics, often regarded as conservative, ethnic minorities account for 11.9 per cent of the population, the two largest groups being the Hungarians (7.9 per cent) and the Germans (1.66 per cent). Bucharest, the capital, has a population of 1,820,829 (1977). Of the churches, the Romanian Orthodox has the largest following, with a membership of approximately 17 million. The 14 officially recognized religious denominations in Romania are under state supervision. There are a number of denominations which have been denied recognition and legal status by the state, and therefore function outside the law.

The present head of state is Nicolae Ceausescu, who has been General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party since 1965, President of the State Council (head of state) since 1967 and President of the Republic since 1974.

Under the 1965 Constitution, Romania is declared to be a "socialist republic" whose national economy is "based on the socialist ownership of the means of production". Political power is held by the Romanian Communist Party, which dominates the popular front organization, the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity (FDSU). Romania's political, economic, administrative and judicial institutions are highly centralized.

Since World War II, Romania's economy, formerly based on agriculture, has undergone intensive modernization. It is now predominantly industrial (the industrial sector accounts for over 60 per cent of the national income) with emphasis on heavy industry: petroleum and natural gas, mining, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemicals and timber processing. The standard of living, however, remains one of the lowest in Eastern Europe. Romania is a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The country's principal trading partner is the Soviet Union but it has resisted demands for the subordination of its economic development to the interests of an integrated economic system within the CMEA and has sought to expand trade with developing nations and with the West, where the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is its chief trading partner. In February 1980 Romania signed an individual agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC) to set up a joint committee to develop and monitor bilateral economic relations.

Romania has been a member of the Warsaw Pact since 1955, but since the mid-1960s it has taken an independent stand on certain foreign policy issues, and has cultivated relations with the People's Republic of China and with Western countries, including France, the FRG and the United States of America. It is the only member of the Warsaw Pact to continue diplomatic relations with both Egypt and Israel. Romania has been a member of the United Nations since 1955.

The Socialist Republic of Romania

1. Introduction

Amnesty International is concerned about a number of human rights issues in the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), in particular the following:

a) the existence of laws which specifically prescribe imprisonment and other penalties for the non-violent exercise of certain human rights;

b) the penalization of Romanian citizens who attempt to exercise internationally recognized human rights in a non-violent manner, by means of i) imprisonment, ii) confinement in psychiatric institutions, iii) forced labour (the last, officially termed "corrective labour without deprivation of liberty", being an alternative to imprisonment);

c) the inadequacy of legal safeguards for those arrested and the abuse of legal provisions concerning house searches, pre-trial detention, and trial procedure;

d) cruel, inhuman and degrading conditions of imprisonment, including maltreatment of political prisoners;

e) the retention of the death penalty.

2. The Constitutional and Political Context

The Constitutional Context

The present constitution of 1965 (as amended in March 1974) supercedes those of 1948 and 1952. Under its provisions, supreme authority is vested in the Grand National Assembly, composed of 349 deputies elected by universal suffrage for five years from a list of candidates nominated by the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity (FDSU). The Assembly holds sessions twice a year and between sessions its legislative authority is delegated to its permanent body, the State Council, which it elects from its own membership. The Assembly elects also the Council of Ministers, the highest state administrative body, and the President of the Republic (an office created in 1974) who is also President of the State Council (head of state). The Assembly is constitutionally the sole legislative body of the SRR; it elects the Supreme Court and Procurator General and regulates the organization of the courts and the Procurator's Office.

The present Head of State, President of the State Council (since 1967) Nicolae Ceausescu, is also General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (since 1965) and President of the Republic (since 1974). Among other major offices he holds is that of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and President of the Defence Council.

Romania is divided into 39 counties (plus the city of Bucharest), which are subdivided into towns and communes. Elected People's Councils function at county, town and commune level, under the leadership of the local Communist Party leader.

The Romanian Communist Party is the sole political party in the country; it is described by the 1965 constitution as "the leading political force of the whole of society". Supreme party authority is nominally vested in the party Congress, which convenes every five years (most recently in November 1979) to establish policy guidelines and to elect the Central Committee and other leading party bodies. In practice the Congress' chief function is to ratify decisions made by top party bodies of which the most powerful is the ten-member Permanent Bureau, chaired by President Ceausescu.

The 1965 Constitution guarantees Romanian citizens a number of human rights but also explicitly places certain restrictions on the exercise of these rights. For instance, freedom of speech, of the press, of reunion, assembly and demonstration are guaranteed under Article 28, but Article 29 declares that these freedoms "cannot be used for purposes hostile to the socialist system and to the interests of the working people".

Article 30 guarantees freedom of conscience and religion; it specifies however that schools are separate from the church and that no religious instruction may be given in teaching establishments except in special schools for training of church functionaries. The right to spread religious beliefs is not guaranteed.

Articles 31 and 32 guarantee inviolability of person and home. Article 33 provides for privacy of correspondence and telephone conversations. The Constitution does not guarantee the right to freedom of movement or residence and makes military service compulsory. Article 18 guarantees the right to work (although not choice of work), while Article 5 describes work as a "duty of honour".

The definition of what constitutes purposes "hostile to the socialist system" is so general, both in the constitution and in a number of other laws' provisions, that, in practice, all the above rights may be denied to a citizen who attempts to exercise them, even non-violently, in ways that do not fall within the often narrow limits laid down by state and party policy.

International legal instruments

Romania has ratified the United Nations' International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and is a signatory of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975). It has in addition ratified the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963). It is party to International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions number 29 concerning Forced Labour (1930), number 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize (1940) and number 90 concerning the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining (1949). In July 1978 Romania submitted a report on its implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 40 of that Covenant.

The political context

The Romanian nation-state, formed in 1859 through the union of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia under Turkish suzerainty, achieved independence through the Berlin Treaty of 1878. The end of World War I and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire saw Romania's territory more than doubled by the acquisition of Bessarabia, Transylvania and the Bukovina. Pro-Axis from 1940 to 1944 when it joined the Allied side, Romania lost North Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Soviet Union and South Dobrudja to Bulgaria in World War II.

In March 1945 a pro-Soviet National Democratic Front government was set up, headed by Dr Petru Groza, leader of the Ploughmen's Front Party, a left-wing peasant organization. Following elections held in 1946, the majority of government posts went to communists. In December 1947 King Michael of Romania abdicated under communist pressure and parliament proclaimed the establishment of a People's Republic (renamed a Socialist Republic in 1965). In 1948, the Republic's first constitution was adopted and nationalization of industrial and financial institutions began, shortly to be followed by the start of forced collectivization of agriculture.

The next six years saw the mass imprisonment and repression of the government's opponents and alleged opponents. During this period the communists gained full control. In 1952, following a purge of the Romanian Workers' Party (since 1965 the Romanian Communist Party), Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej took over its leadership and became head of state.

Despite a further wave of repression in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Gheorghiu-Dej, appealing to Romanian nationalist sentiment, won considerable popular support for the policy initiated in the early 1960s of increased independence from the Soviet Union in economic, military and foreign affairs accompanied by rapid industrialization. This policy has been pursued to the present day by his successor to state and Communist Party leadership, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Despite official criticism of "errors" committed under Gheorghiu-Dej and amnesties in 1976 and 1977 affecting 28,000 people (mainly juvenile offenders or people arrested or sentenced for leaving or attempting to leave the country illegally), serious human rights violations have continued in Romania. While the number of those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on overtly political charges, such as "anti-state propaganda", appear to have fallen in recent years, dissenters are nonetheless penalized in many different ways, both legal and extra-legal. These include not only prolonged police surveillance, harassment, intimidation, vilification, loss of jobs or demotion, but also confinement in psychiatric institutions, forced labour, deportation and imprisonment, often on what Amnesty International believes to be false charges of offences such as "parasitism", "disturbance of public order", "homosexual relations" and "embezzlement".

In recent years many Romanians have tried to emigrate, despite the considerable official obstacles to doing so. On the other hand, the government has sometimes encouraged, or even compelled, human rights activists to emigrate, in particular those who have persisted in their dissident activity in spite of repression or intimidation.

Since Romania's ratification in 1974 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the signing in 1975 of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki agreement), there have been attempts within the country to create a human rights movement, similar to those in several other countries of Eastern Europe, based on the demand that the government fulfil its obligations under the Covenants and grant its citizens their rights guaranteed by law and constitution. Whenever an attempt to create such a movement has been made, the Romanian authorities have sought to isolate the leaders and to intimidate and disperse their supporters. This has been facilitated by the strict censorship which has ensured that most Romanian citizens can obtain information about human rights movements only by word of mouth or via foreign broadcasting stations.

The following is a brief account of official action against people and groups who have spoken up on behalf of human rights in recent years. In all these instances, Amnesty International has interceded on behalf of those who have suffered imprisonment or confinement to psychiatric institutions on account of their non-violent exercise of their human rights.

In January 1977, the Romanian writer Paul Goma wrote a letter (later published outside Romania) to the Charter 77 signatories in Czechoslovakia, expressing solidarity with their movement. The following month he appealed to the 35 signatories of the Helsinki agreement in an open letter drawing attention to the violation of human rights in Romania and demanded that the Romanian Government respect its undertakings in this field. His appeal was subsequently signed by well over 200 Romanian citizens, despite a campaign of intimidation and vilification against both him and other early signatories by the Romanian authorities.

In April 1977, Paul Goma was arrested; many signatories were detained for short periods and repeatedly interrogated; a number were confined to psychiatric hospitals or ordered to do forced labour. In May 1977, following much international publicity about his case, Paul Goma was released, but after persistent official harassment, he left Romania in November 1977.

Before World War II there were some 60 recognized active religious denominations in Romania. In 1948 the "Law on Religious Confessions" enacted by State Decree 177/1948 gave official recognition to only 14 of these denominations and put them under the close supervision of the State Department of Religious Affairs. This has at times led to conflict within the churches, some of whose members have felt that their official leaders have accepted too easily, or even connived at, state interference in religious affairs.

In March 1977 six prominent Protestant pastors and lay people signed an appeal protesting against official persecution of and discrimination against religious believers. In particular they stated that active believers were barred from holding responsible public posts, that their children were discriminated against at school and university and that prayer meetings held in believers' homes were repeatedly interrupted by the police who imposed fines on participants. The signatories of this appeal were arrested early in April, interrogated for up to 12 hours and brutally beaten.

In May 1978 a number of Protestant believers (predominantly Baptists) formed a movement called "The Romanian Christian Committee for the Defence of Freedom of Religion and Conscience" (ALRC); in July 1978 they sent an appeal signed by 27 members to the Romanian authorities requesting recognition of a number of religious denominations declared illegal since 1948 (in particular the Greek Catholic Church (Uniate), the Reformed Seventh Day Adventists and the Romanian Orthodox evangelical movement–"The Lord's Army"). In addition they called for freedom of worship, an end to state interference in church affairs, the right to propagate their beliefs in the media and religious instruction in schools. Shortly afterwards, a number of the signatories were detained for interrogation and beaten. Nine of the founder members of the Committee were expelled from the official Baptist Union in September 1978 on the grounds that they had formed "an illegal group" and not conformed with Baptist doctrine. In October 1978 three members of the group (Petru Cocirteu, Ionel Prejban and Nicolae Radoi from Caransebes) were sentenced to 17, 12 and eight months' imprisonment respectively on charges of causing a public disturbance. They denied these charges and witnesses claimed that they had in fact been attacked by the police.

Since then a number of ALRC founder members have been persuaded (some by means of threats) to emigrate (including Pastor Pavel Nicolescu, ALRC representative); others (including Ludovic Osvath, Dimitrie Ianculovici, Nicolae Traian Bogdan) have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to six months or to a year's forced labour on charges of "parasitism" or have been repeatedly detained for interrogation and intimidation.

In the summer and autumn of 1977 Karoly Kiraly, a member of the Hungarian minority who was an official in the Romanian Communist Party and until 1975 a member of its Central Committee, sent three letters to high-ranking Communist Party members in which he claimed that the Hungarian minority in Romania was being forcibly assimilated and was discriminated against in the fields of culture, education and employment. His protest was reportedly supported by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, a former Prime Minister of Romania, and seven prominent officials who were members of the Hungarian minority.

In February 1978 Karoly Kiraly was arrested in Tirgu Mures after copies of his letter had appeared in foreign newspapers and had begun to circulate amongst members of the Hungarian minority. Police afterwards conducted widespread searches for copies of his letter in the homes of members of the Hungarian minority. He and his family were shortly afterwards forced to move to Caransebes where they were kept under constant police surveillance. Although subsequently permitted to return to Tirgu Mures, Karoly Kiraly is said to be still under surveillance. Amnesty International learnt that in 1979 he was refused permission to travel abroad for medical treatment, even though he was apparently ill.

Early in August 1977, miners in the Jiu valley went on strike in support of a petition requesting that a recently introduced government pension scheme be withdrawn and that certain additional workers' benefits be provided and safety standards set. According to reports from a number of sources, up to four thousand strikers were later dismissed from their jobs, many of them being transferred to other mines. Those who had played a prominent part in the strike, in particular a twenty-member delegation that went to Bucharest to request an audience with the Communist Party Central Committee, were arrested on their return and sent without trial to work in other districts where they were demoted and put under police surveillance. Government officials have denied there was a strike, although they admitted there were "problems" in August 1977 in the Jiu valley. They have also denied that leading strikers were forcibly resettled. Unofficially, however, it has been admitted that "a handful" of strikers were "banished". There are no formal provisions for "banishment" under Romanian law; however, in practice, it would appear that Decree 24/1976, which enables state bodies to allocate people to centres of production, can be used in effect to "banish" individuals. It is interesting, therefore, that Article 201 of the amended Law No. 5/1971 on "Identification Papers of Romanian Citizens and the Procedure for Change of Domicile and Residence" states that "for persons who are assigned or transferred to work for an undetermined period in another locality, where they are guaranteed housing, according to law, and where they live together with their families, the militia will put into effect a change of domicile to that area". According to Amnesty International's information, the miners thus "banished" have been assigned low-standard housing, described as "barracks". Furthermore, according to several sources, two strike leaders (engineers Ioan Dobre and Jurca) died shortly after the strike in circumstances that were never satisfactorily investigated by the police. Romanian officials have denied that Ioan Dobre died and have stated that he is studying at home.

In February 1979 a group of intellectuals and workers from Bucharest and Turnu Severin announced the foundation of a "Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers" (SLOMR). In their manifesto they drew attention to increased unemployment and to the forced retirement of dissenters on false psychiatric grounds. They called for improved working conditions and higher safety standards, an end to unpaid compulsory overtime and the abolition of special privileges for Communist Party members. This manifesto won support from workers in a number of major Romanian cities, including, allegedly, that of a previously clandestine union of "workers, peasants and soldiers" claiming over a thousand members from Mures county.

On 6 March, two days after the SLOMR declaration was broadcast on a foreign radio station, the telephones of the movement's two representatives, Dr Cana, a medical practitioner, and Gheorghe Brasoveanu, an economist, were cut off; and in the next few days a number of members were detained by the police. Dr Cana and Gheorghe Brasoveanu were arrested on 10 March 1979, reportedly after their relatives had been persuaded to sign declarations that they were insane, under threat that the alternative to confinement in a psychiatric institution would be a long term of imprisonment. Dr Cana and Gheorghe Brasoveanu are said to have been confined to Jilava Prison Psychiatric Hospital shortly afterwards. Dr Cana was subsequently sentenced to seven years' imprisonment (reduced to five and a half years on appeal). Nicolae Dascalu, a

SLOMR member who had announced that a number of Bucharest citizens had decided to apply to join Amnesty International, was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment (reduced on appeal to 10 months) under Article 94 of the amended 1974 Press Law for having disseminated information abroad without legal authorization. A number of other members were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to six months on charges of "parasitism"–some of them have since been given passports to leave the country. Another SLOMR member, Eugen Onescu, was confined to psychiatric hospital (the Kula annexe of the Dr Marinescu Hospital in Bucharest) for three weeks.

Father Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest and professor at the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Bucharest, an acquaintance of Gheorghe Brasoveanu, was also arrested on 10 March 1979 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. The Romanian authorities have since publicized the fact that he had been a political prisoner for 15 years (1949–1964) and have claimed that he had been a member of the Romanian fascist movement, the Iron Guard, even though he was only 13 in 1940. No evidence has ever been produced, however, to indicate that the grounds for Father Calciu's arrest and conviction in 1979 were his propagation of fascist ideology.

3. Legal Situation

(i) The judiciary and the police

Justice in Romania is administered by local courts, county courts (the Bucharest sectional courts and the municipal court have the status of local and county courts respectively) and the Supreme Court. Military courts which try military offenders are also competent in certain circumstances to try civilians: a number of people accused of "anti-state propaganda" or "fraudulent crossing of the frontier" are reported to have been tried by military courts. A number of minor offences including work and family disputes are tried by workers' judicial councils, composed of lay judges. The benches of local and county courts are composed of lay and professional judges who, like local and county state prosecuting authorities, are elected by People's Councils–local government bodies. The Supreme Court, whose members are all professional judges, is elected by the Grand National Assembly, which elects the Procurator General also. The Procurator's Office supervises the prosecution authorities and the courts, and ensures the observance of the law by official bodies and citizens alike as well as the "defence of the socialist order".

In December 1977 the Romanian press published a series of proposals adopted by a national conference of the Romanian Communist Party on the improvement of the "legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the activity of Organs of Justice and of the Ministry of the Interior and on new measures to develop socialist democracy". These proposals included expanding the competence of workers' judicial councils, removing from the penal code "certain less socially dangerous offences", to be punished instead by "disciplinary, administrative or other measures" imposed "by leading bodies or units" (presumably local Communist Party bodies and People's Councils) and increasing the Procurator's powers at the criminal investigation stage.

The police consist of two bodies: the *militie*, responsible for normal policing functions, and the *securitate*, the political police, organized on military lines, responsible for the security of the state. State, party and *securitate* organs work in close, if not always harmonious, collaboration, as was revealed in a remarkable statement by Mr Ceausescu at a meeting of Bucharest party activists on 15–18 July 1967 at which he reportedly announced a reform of the *securitate*, on the grounds that it had abused its powers and achieved independent power beyond the control of the party. On this occasion he promised that in future, "no citizen can be arrested without a proper case against him and also no activist or party member can be arrested without the approval of the party organs".

(ii) Legislation under which prisoners of conscience may be imprisoned or ordered to do forced labour

The current penal code was promulgated in 1969, since when it has been modified a number of times. Perhaps the most important change (in the context of this paper) has been the provision of an alternative to imprisonment (at the judge's discretion) in the form of "corrective labour without loss of liberty". This penalty was introduced by Law Number 3 in 1973 for crimes punishable by not more than two years' imprisonment (three years' imprisonment since 1977). Romanian legislators stress the humanitarian and educational aspects of "corrective labour". It should, however, be noted that this penalty entails serious restrictions on freedom of movement, as well as a reduction of salary and loss of holidays. A new penal code has been pending since 1977. In addition to the provisions of the penal code there are a number of state decrees including Decree 12/1965, Decree 153/1970, Decrees 24 and 25/1976 and the Press Law of 1974 (amended 1977) which have been used to punish dissenters.

The current penal code contains certain articles which explicitly restrict the exercise of internationally recognized human rights. For example, Article 166 makes "Propaganda against the Socialist State" punishable by five to 15 years' imprisonment. Since 1975 Amnesty International has learnt of a number of cases in which people charged under this article were not sentenced to imprisonment but were forcibly confined to psychiatric hospitals.

Article 245 makes "fraudulent crossing of national boundaries" punishable by six months' to three years' imprisonment. The right of people to leave their own country is severely restricted in Romania. Amnesty International regularly learns of cases of individuals who, having been refused official permission to emigrate or travel abroad, have tried to leave Romania illegally and been sentenced under this article. Among such cases recently taken up by Amnesty International is that of Florin Preda, a 27-year-old telegrapher from Bucharest. In May 1979 he crossed the border into Yugoslavia, reached the United Nations High Commission for Refugees offices in Belgrade but was then handed over to the Yugoslav police and sent back to Romania, where in September 1979 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Ordinary criminal charges commonly brought against dissenters

In recent years there has been a tendency to sentence people who have tried to exercise their human rights in ways not approved by the authorities on what Amnesty International believes to be false criminal, rather than overtly political, charges.

For example, Article 200 of the penal code makes "sexual relations between persons of the same sex" punishable by one to five years' imprisonment. Amnesty International knows of a number of cases of people charged under this article where there are strong reasons to believe that the charge was unfounded and/or politically motivated. This view is supported by the repeated claims by individuals detained by the state security police that during interrogation they had been threatened with charges of homosexual acts. A case in point is that of Gheorghe Rusu, an economist from Tirgoviste, who in 1977 applied to emigrate to France in order to join his wife and child there. In March 1978 two plainclothes police officers came to his house claiming to be members of a government emigration commission and requested him to accompany them to Bucharest in order to complete the necessary emigration formalities. On arrival in Bucharest, Gheorghe Rusu was informed that he had been arrested on charges of homosexual acts. He was held in preventive detention for six months, in the course of which he was sent to Jilava Prison Hospital with fractured ribs after being attacked by other prisoners (allegedly at the instigation of officials). On 22 September 1978 he was acquitted by the Bucharest court of Sector 6 for lack of evidence. The Procurator's office of Sector 6 however appealed against the court's decision and he was later sentenced to three years' imprisonment at the appeal hearing.

Article 321 of the penal code makes "outrages against morality and disturbance of the public peace" punishable by three months' to two years' imprisonment and up to five years for "seriously disturbing public peace". Those who take part in unauthorized demonstrations are liable to be charged under this article.

In September 1978, Nicolae Jelev and Paul Chiracu barricaded themselves together with their families into the Chiracu flat in Bucharest after their applications to emigrate had been refused. Posters on their windows announced that they had gone on hunger-strike in order to be allowed to emigrate. Two days later they were arrested; Nicolae Jelev and Paul Chiracu were sentenced to two years' and to three and a half years' imprisonment respectively on charges of "seriously disturbing the public peace".

Decree 153/1970 deals with "establishing and punishing violations of the code of social behaviour, order and public peace". A high proportion of the cases which have come to Amnesty International's attention in recent years have been those of individuals sentenced under this decree which provides for up to six-month prison sentences or fines for a range of "anti-social" or "parasitical" acts, many of which are defined in very general terms, for instance, "The creation, support or membership of groups which demonstrate a parasitic or anarchistic way of life by their behaviour, contrary to the basic rules of decent conduct, and which are alien to the principles of socialist communal life". The key feature of this decree is that it provides for a *summary* and basically *administrative* procedure by which these penalties may be imposed, which is subject only to limited judicial supervision. The role of the (single) judge is not to assess the facts in the case–which have been "established" in a formal report by the administrative authorities or the militia–but to ascertain whether the proper procedure has been followed and whether the facts—as established in the report—support the contention that an offence has been committed. This procedure does not permit the right of legal defence for the accused. Reports received by Amnesty International show that this procedure has frequently been used to penalize:

1. Romanian citizens who are involuntarily unemployed through having been dismissed from their jobs as a reprisal for having applied to emigrate;
2. religious dissenters who have held private prayer meetings in their homes or who have attempted to hold religious services at times or places not officially authorized by authorities;
3. signatories to appeals drawing attention to violations of human rights in Romania.

Decree 24/1976 deals with "the recruitment and allocation of manpower", and Decree 25/1976 deals with "the assignment of able-bodied persons to useful employment". Under these decrees all able-bodied people who have reached the age of 16 years and are not having any form of education or training and are unemployed are required to register so as to be given employment, and otherwise fined; anyone refusing to take a job may be obliged by a final and enforceable court order to work for a year on a specific work site, which need not necessarily be near where the person lives. Compliance with the court order is to be enforced by the police authorities. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) in its 1979 survey on the Abolition of Forced Labour has noted the incompatibility of these decrees with the 1930 and 1957 Conventions on Forced Labour and the Abolition of Forced Labour. Romanian authorities have stated that under the constitution, every citizen has the right as well as the duty to work. They have claimed also that there is no legal means of forcing anyone to work who refuses to do so. It is Amnesty International's view that the above decrees effectively provide a legal sanction against people declining to work, moreover that these decrees have on occasions been applied in such a way as to penalize people who have not refused to work, but sought to exercise their human rights in ways disapproved of by the authorities.

Cases taken up by Amnesty International include those of seven individuals who in the summer of 1977 wrote to a representative of a foreign government criticizing human rights violations in Romania. They were dismissed from their jobs and the same day ordered by a court to a year's forced labour on the Black Sea-Danube canal under Decree 25/1976. Here they were kept under surveillance and obliged to report at intervals to the police. Following international publicity, they were later released and given passports to leave Romania.

In January 1979, Ludovic Osvath, a Hungarian Baptist from Zalau, was dismissed from the job he had been doing for the past 14 years after he had repeatedly protested against his expulsion from the official Baptist Union for his membership of the ALRC. In June 1979, after making further protests, he was ordered to a year's forced labour on a construction site in Zalau.

Conscientious objection

Military service is compulsory under the constitution, and there are no legal provisions recognizing the right to refuse to serve in the armed forces on grounds of conscience. Article 348 of the penal code makes evading military service punishable by from six months' to five years' imprisonment or from three to 10 years' imprisonment in wartime. Romanian authorities have stated that members of certain religious denominations are in practice allowed to perform non-combatant administrative military service.

At the time of writing, Amnesty International has taken up the cases of four members of the unofficial Reformed Seventh Day Adventist Church who have been sentenced, on charges of insubordination, to terms of imprisonment varying from three to four years for conscientiously objecting to military service on Saturdays.

(iii) Legal/administrative procedures

a) Custody and pre-trial detention

The period spent in police custody can last 24 hours, after which it must be replaced by arrest (Articles 143 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure). Arrest pending trial can be ordered only by the Procurator or the judiciary. According to a statement by the Romanian Government to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in July 1979, people may be held in pre-trial detention for up to a month, but the Procurator or judiciary may extend this by four further month-long periods. In a number of cases known to Amnesty International, this five-month period has been exceeded. Amnesty International has also received reports of arrests carried out without a warrant by plain-clothes state security police. The prosecuting authorities may prohibit a person held in preventive detention from contacting his or her defence counsel for 60 days. In practice, some prisoners of conscience have reported that they were denied contact with their defence counsel or were not permitted to engage a lawyer of their choice but instead forced to accept the services of a state-appointed lawyer.

Under Romanian law, the extraction of confessions by force from the accused is a punishable offence. However, Amnesty International has repeatedly heard of people being savagely beaten with fists, leather belts or truncheons while in preventive detention or being physically or psychologically maltreated in other ways in order to get them to make self-incriminating statements. The organization has received several reports about people being severely ill-treated in the Calea Rahovei detention centre and in state security headquarters in Beldiman Street in Bucharest. One prisoner was allegedly beaten unconscious while being compelled to drink methylated spirits by means of a funnel forced down down his throat; another was deprived of sleep for four days and nights in order to extract a confession from him. A number of people who have been repeatedly arrested and held in custody for short periods have reported that they were threatened by state security police with "a car accident" or confinement in a psychiatric institution.

b) Conduct of trials

Article 290 of the Criminal Procedure Code states that trials are to be public, unless this would be "prejudicial to the interests of the State, socialist morality or the dignity or private life of a person", in which case the court may, at the request of the Procurator or of the parties or of its own accord, announce that the whole or any part of the proceedings will be held *in camera*. Amnesty International believes this provision is open to abuse. The organization has received reports of political trials held *in camera*, and of trials in which the accused or their defence counsel were prevented by the judge from fully presenting their cases. There have also been numerous complaints by people charged under Decree 153/1970 (see above, page 9) which permits summary trial in some cases reportedly lasting no more than 15 minutes.

Political trials are only very rarely reported by the Romanian news media and the general public has almost no opportunity of getting to know about the details of such cases, except through foreign broadcasts.

c) Release procedure

When half a sentence has been served, its duration is subject to review. Prisoners whose work and conduct have satisfied the prison authorities are eligible for remission of up to a third of their sentence. Under the Romanian Constitution, the Grand National Assembly and the State Council are empowered to grant amnesties. Pardon (in individual cases) may be granted by the President of the Republic.

4. Confinement of Prisoners of Conscience in Psychiatric Institutions

Legislation and legal procedures for commitment and release

Romanian law provides for a criminal and a civil procedure whereby people defined as mentally ill may be committed to psychiatric hospital. Dissenters have been forcibly confined to psychiatric hospitals under both of these procedures for the non-violent exercise of their human rights rather than for genuine medical reasons.

Article 114 of the penal code stipulates that: "If the offender is mentally ill or is a drug addict and his condition represents a social danger, he may be interned in a specialized medical institution until his recovery. This measure can also be provisionally applied during penal proceedings or trial". Certain prisoners of conscience known to Amnesty International who have been confined to psychiatric hospitals under Article 114 of the penal code have been charged with non-violent political offences, usually "anti-state propaganda" or having attempted to leave the country without official permission.

Decree 12/1965 (civil procedure) states that "dangerously mentally ill" people may be forcibly confined to psychiatric hospital or, alternatively, ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment–free of charge–as outpatients. "Dangerously mentally ill persons" are defined as those who "endanger their own or other persons' lives, health or physical well-being or who may be about to commit grave acts proscribed under penal laws" or who "repeatedly and seriously disrupt the normal living and working conditions of other people". The decision to confine a person to psychiatric hospital is taken by a civil court on the basis of medical diagnosis and recommendation.

Article 4 of Decree 12/1965 also provides for "provisional confinement as a measure preceding confinement for medical treatment on the basis of a decision by the procurator and, in urgent cases, by health agencies". The decision whether to release someone from compulsory psychiatric confinement is taken by the court, on the basis of psychiatrists' recommendations.

Amnesty International knows of various prisoners of conscience who were already confined to psychiatric hospital before their cases came to court, on the grounds that they were "about to " commit "grave crimes"–although as far as Amnesty International knows, none of them had a violent record. In many cases political considerations rather than medical criteria have been the basis for psychiatrists' recommendations to a court, and for the court's decision. Psychiatric examination has reportedly consisted largely of interrogation about the individual's attitude to socialism, political leaders and work in a socialist society. On the basis of such an examination, dissenters have commonly been diagnosed as suffering from "paranoia", "schizophrenia" and "oligophrenia". To be released, prisoners of conscience have often had to make statements renouncing their political views and in a number of cases have been obliged to sign statements undertaking not to disclose details of their treatment.

Prisoners of conscience confined to psychiatric hospital under Decree 12/1965 are normally committed to ordinary psychiatric hospitals, which are administered by the health authorities. The forcibly committed inmates are not permitted to leave. Those charged with an offence under the penal code have been sent to the psychiatric wards of hospitals in prisons, for example to Jilava Prison psychiatric ward, or to special psychiatric hospitals for the incurably mentally ill and for mentally ill criminals, such as the Dr Petru Groza Hospital in Bihor, which resembles a maximum security prison.

Prisoners of conscience have reported being made to take large doses of drugs, often sedatives, usually plegomazin, mazeptil, haloperidol, droperidol, meprobamate and phenobarbital. These have produced apathy, given them headaches and caused psycho-motoric disturbances, circulatory, blood, stomach and liver disorders, Parkinson's syndrome and acute depression. Patients who have protested about confinement or their treatment in hospital have reportedly been beaten by hospital staff, denied normal food rations, outdoor exercise for periods of up to several months and contact with their families. Amnesty International has heard that prisoners of conscience have also been given electric shock treatment (ECT).

Prisoners of conscience have normally been separated from each other and put in rooms with the genuinely mentally ill. In addition they have reported generally getting poor food and often being kept in extremely insanitary conditions, which in some cases have caused hospital epidemics. Prisoners who have not had the money with which to obtain favours from hospital staff have suffered particularly harsh treatment.

When released from psychiatric confinement, prisoners of conscience have in many cases been forced to retire, or allowed only to perform manual labour. Under Article 113 of the penal code and under the provisions of Decree 12/1965, they are also frequently obliged to report regularly to psychiatric hospital for "treatment". Hospitals where prisoners of conscience are known to have been confined include Jilava Prison Hospital, the Dr Petru Groza Hospital, the

Dr Marinescu Number 9 Hospital in Bucharest, and hospitals in Poiana Mare, Sighetul Marmatiei, Bistrita, Gataia, Urlati, Cimpina Voila and Constanta.

The following are some of the 40 cases reported to Amnesty International of people who have been forcibly confined to psychiatric hospital for their non-violent exercise of their human rights.

In March 1975, Janos Török, a textile worker from Cluj and a Communist Party member, criticized the election system for representatives to the National Assembly at a Party meeting at his place of work. He was immediately arrested by state security officers and is reported to have been severely beaten during prolonged interrogation. He was subsequently confined to the Dr Petru Groza Hospital, as dangerously insane, where he was forcibly injected with heavy doses of plegomazin. On 3 March 1978, he was released on condition that his wife agree to sign a document making her her husband's legal guardian on the grounds of his alleged mental ill-health. Since then he has been under house arrest in Cluj and may leave his home only once a month when he has to report to a psychiatric clinic.

In 1969, Vasile Paraschiv, an employee at a petrochemical plant in Ploiesti, was confined to the psychiatric hospital of Urlati after he had criticized work conditions in Romania and protested at the harassment he had suffered as a result. He immediately went on hunger strike and was released after five days. During 1976, he was confined to the psychiatric hospital of Voila Cimpina for three weeks, where he was diagnosed as suffering from psychopathic paranoia and persecution complex after he had appealed to Communist Party authorities complaining about injustices at work. In February 1977 he signed Paul Goma's human rights appeal and was threatened with further psychiatric confinement. At the end of 1977, he was given a passport and travelled to France, where he publicized his treatment and underwent an independent psychiatric examination which confirmed that he was not mentally ill. Later that year he returned to Romania. In February 1979 he was arrested in Bucharest where he went to announce his support for an unofficial "Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers". He was reportedly beaten, accused of being a member of "Al Fatah", and subsequently released. Since then he has not corresponded or communicated with friends and relatives abroad, and it is feared that he may once again have been forcibly confined.

Between 1972 and 1977 Gheorghe Brasoveanu was confined to psychiatric hospital four times for periods lasting several months, after criticizing the nature of church-state relations and violations of human rights in Romania. In February 1979, he founded the "Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers" together with Dr Ionel Cana and a group of workers and intellectuals from Turnu Severin and Bucharest. On 10 March 1979, both men were arrested and were later reported to have been confined to the psychiatric section of Jilava Prison Hospital. In June 1979 Dr Cana was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment (reduced to five and a half on appeal). (See page 6.)

Since 1978 Amnesty International has learned of a number of instances of people who have publicly demonstrated or gone on hunger-strike in support of their demand to emigrate being confined to psychiatric hospital under

Decree 12/1965 for as long as six weeks. Such cases have included those of Eugen Onescu, Cristian Liutiev, Gheorghe Vasiliu and Mircea Camil Panaitescu from Bucharest, Liviu Manta from Medias, Dumitru Muresan from Bistrita Nasaud, Daniela Bezdeanu from Ploiesti and Ion Ionescu from Resita. Eugen Onescu, before being sent to psychiatric hospital, was visited at home by doctors from the Dr Marinescu Hospital. They forcibly injected him for what they called "psychiatric symptoms". These injections caused him severe muscular pains and headaches for several days afterwards. The Romanian authorities have denied that psychiatry is abused in the country for political ends and have supplied Amnesty International with details on some of the cases cited by the organization which, in some instances, conflict with information obtained by Amnesty International elsewhere. However the evidence available from a number of reliable sources is such that Amnesty International is forced to conclude that there has been persistent abuse of psychiatry in Romania.

5. Number of Prisoners

It is not possible to estimate reliably how many prisoners of conscience are serving sentences of imprisonment, forced labour or are confined to psychiatric hospitals in Romania. Official statistics on imprisonment generally are not available; moreover, Romanian law does not recognize political prisoners as a distinct category. Arrests, detention and convictions in political cases are only very rarely announced publicly. Strict censorship of private correspondence and telephone conversations effectively restricts the communication of information on such matters; and often reprisals have been taken against those who have spoken out about them. Amnesty International therefore believes that the number of prisoners under adoption or investigation by the organization represents only a fraction of the prisoners of conscience in Romania.

6. Location of Prisons

During the past decade the majority of prisoners of conscience known to Amnesty International have served their sentences in the prisons of Timisoara, Gherla, Aiud, Galati, Constanta, Poarta Alba, Rahova, Jilava and Vacaresti (the last was closed in 1973). Since the amnesties of 1976 and 1977 (affecting some 28,000 people) political prisoners adopted by Amnesty International have not, as far as the organization knows, been detained in the notoriously harsh underground prison of Jilava, although some have spent periods in Jilava Prison Hospital, including its psychiatric section. A number of prisoners of conscience have been held for interrogation in the state security detention centre in Calea Rahovei, Bucharest.

7. Prison Conditions

Prison conditions in Romania as described by former prisoners are inadequate and fall well below the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. It would appear that conditions in Aiud and Timisoara prisons are particularly poor.

Accommodation

Political prisoners are not recognized as a separate category and share cells with common criminals. In some prisons it has been the practice to separate those sentenced for attempting to leave the country illegally from other prisoners. Cells vary greatly in size, from large rooms accommodating over 50 people in tiered bunks, to small cells containing three or four prisoners. Inmates have reported severe overcrowding, insanitary conditions, poor ventilation and inadequate heating (sometimes by means of small insufficiently fuelled brick stoves).

Work

Article 56 of the penal code states that male prisoners under 60 and female prisoners under 55 are required to work. Prisoners who are older than this may choose whether or not to work. Former prisoners have complained of long working hours (up to 10 hours daily, including Saturdays), high norms and very low pay. Some prisons have their own workshops (as at Gherla which produces furniture and basket-work); Timisoara Prison sends convicts out to work, mainly on building sites, or, in the case of women, to local canneries. It has been reported that guards have often beaten prisoners who have failed to achieve their work norms.

Exercise and Health

Fifteen minutes' exercise a day appears to be the rule, although at Gherla the exercise period is longer and prisoners may engage in sporting activities. A generally poor and inadequate diet, extremely deficient in meat, fresh vegetables and fruit, combined with long working hours and often insanitary conditions place a heavy burden on the prisoners' health. It appears that they are often obliged to seek medical attention from doctors among their fellow-prisoners rather than from prison medical staff, who give most of their attention to prison personnel. Seriously ill inmates are frequently sent to Jilava Prison Hospital.

Contact with families

Prisoners are subjected to a variety of regimes. The most favourable includes the right to send a card to their families and to receive from them a letter, a five-kilogram parcel and a 15-minute visit once a month.

Punishments

Punishments include deprivation of visits, letters and parcels from relatives, solitary confinement (for up to 15 days) and strict isolation (for up to 10 days–which can be extended, with the approval of the prison director and doctor, to 20 days).

Maltreatment

Former prisoners report that the maximum permissible isolation period has in some instances been exceeded, that prisoners placed in strict isolation have been deprived of beds and obliged to sleep on a concrete floor with only a blanket for covering, and have received food only every other day. There have also been reports of prisoners being chained by the hands and feet to the cell wall or floor for as long as 10 days. Prisoners of conscience, particularly religious prisoners, have been beaten by guards and by other prisoners, at the instigation of the prison authorities. Amnesty International has received information indicating that a number of political prisoners have been savagely beaten during pre-trial detention, and that the state security police, who are known to enlist the services of boxers from the Bucharest Dynamo sports club, are particularly notorious in this respect.

8. Released Prisoners

Reports received by Amnesty International suggest that a number of prisoners of conscience are in poor health when released, as a result of the privations and hardships of prison life. They are likely to find great difficulty in getting the jobs for which they are qualified, and so may be forced to do menial, poorly paid work. Those who remain unemployed may be assigned to work which is not of their choosing, far from home. Some prisoners have been obliged on release to report regularly to the local police, and in the case of prisoners of conscience released from psychiatric hospitals, to report regularly to a psychiatric clinic for treatment. In addition, former prisoners of conscience have complained of harassment and continued police surveillance.

9. Death Penalty

Under the 1969 penal code 28 crimes carry a discretionary death sentence, with an alternative penalty of 15 to 20 years' imprisonment. Offences against territorial integrity and national sovereignty, state security and national defence as well as treason, espionage, particularly serious cases of homicide, serious forms of embezzlement and misuse of public property and hijacking aircraft with very grave consequences are all punishable by death. According to a submission by the Romanian Government to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in July 1978, no one has been executed solely for offences against state property since 1963. The death penalty cannot be imposed on people under 18 when the offence was committed, on a pregnant woman or on the mother of a child under three when the offence was committed or judgment pronounced. It is reported that the number of offences punishable by death in the pending penal code has been considerably reduced, and that this penalty will be used only in exceptional cases and as an alternative in cases of homicide, treason, espionage and hijacking aircraft (when this has particularly serious consequences). Reportedly it will no longer be used for economic offences.

10. Other Violations of Human Rights

In addition to being punished by imprisonment, forced labour or confinement in psychiatric institutions, known dissenters are liable to suffer a number of extrajudicial forms of repression, including demotion at work and dismissal from work. Dismissal is often the fate of those who have applied or said they want to emigrate, and of citizens with responsible jobs in education, industry, medicine and administration who decline to swear an oath to serve their country and to devote themselves to the achievement of the policies of the Communist

Party and the State. Such people may subsequently be further punished for "parasitism".

Young men who apply to emigrate or travel abroad are liable to find themselves drafted into special military units which perform heavy manual labour. The children of dissenters or of parents whose political or social origin is regarded as undesirable by the authorities may suffer educational discrimination, in particular at university level.

Other forms of harassment and persecution include police surveillance, repeated threatening telephone calls, mail interception, telephone tapping or even physical assault in the street by unknown people. Repeated short-term detention for interrogation during which the victim may be beaten or threatened is also frequently reported. Applicants to emigrate to join spouses abroad have been subjected to pressure to start divorce proceedings.

11. Action by Amnesty International

1) At the time of writing, Amnesty International groups have worked on behalf of 61 adopted prisoners of conscience and nine investigation cases. Groups have continuously publicized the cases of prisoners of conscience in Romania and have appealed to the Romanian authorities for their release.
2) In the autumn of 1978 Amnesty International launched an international campaign against human rights violations in Romania and published detailed information documenting its concerns.
3) In February 1979 an Amnesty International delegation visited Romania at the invitation of the Romanian Association for International Law and International Relations. The delegates met the President of the Romanian Association for International Law and International Relations, the Deputy Minister of Justice, the Deputy Procurator General and a number of high officials from the Ministries of Justice, the Interior and Health. There were also meetings with religious leaders, trade union officials and official representatives of the Hungarian and German minorities. During these talks, the delegation explained how Amnesty International functions and discussed its concerns in Romania. Following the visit, Amnesty International submitted a memorandum to the Romanian Government summarizing these talks and drawing attention to further cases of prisoners of conscience adopted since the delegation's visit. The organization has also requested a second mission to investigate in particular the abuse of psychiatry in the country. At the time of writing, the Romanian authorities had not yet responded.
4) In September 1979 Amnesty International raised the issue of abuse of psychiatry in Romania in an oral statement to the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.
5) In 1974 Amnesty International appealed against the death sentence imposed on Richard Szattinger who was charged with industrial espionage. In 1975 his sentence was commuted to 18 years' imprisonment and in 1977 he was released. In September 1976 Amnesty International appealed

against death sentences passed on Nicolae Ilies and Bogdan Iordanescu, both charged with economic espionage. In November 1976 these sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

These papers are intended to summarize available information on political imprisonment, torture and the death penalty in a single country or territory governed by a specific political authority. They are designed to be concise and factual and are written primarily for reference purposes.

Since Amnesty International is limited by its statute to act only in specific human rights situations, reference is made to the political, economic and social situation in each country *only where this had direct relevance to particular human rights problems*. The information contained in each paper is accurate at the time of publication.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is a worldwide movement which is independent of any government, political grouping, ideology, economic interest or religious creed. It plays a specific role within the overall spectrum of human rights work. The activities of the organization focus strictly on prisoners:

- It seeks the *release* of men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, colour, sex, ethnic origin, language or religion, provided they have not used or advocated violence. These are termed "*prisoners of conscience*".
- It advocates *fair and early trials* for *all political prisoners* and works on behalf of such persons detained without charge or without trial.
- It opposes the *death penalty* and *torture* or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of *all prisoners* without reservation.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL acts on the basis of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments. Through practical work for prisoners within its mandate, Amnesty International participates in the wider promotion and protection of human rights in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has over 2,000 adoption groups and national sections in 39 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and the Middle East, and individual members, subscribers and supporters in a further 86 countries. Each adoption group works on behalf of at least two prisoners of conscience in countries other than its own. These countries are balanced geographically and politically to ensure impartiality. Information about prisoners and human rights violations emanates from Amnesty International's Research Department in London.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States and is a member of the Coordinating Committee of the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees of the Organization of African Unity.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is financed by subscriptions and donations of its worldwide membership. To safeguard the independence of the organization, all contributions are strictly controlled by guidelines laid down by AI's International Council and income and expenditure are made public in an annual financial report.

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Romanian Agents Blunder After Visiting Newsmen

By Michael Dobbs
Special to The Washington Post

BUCHAREST—All the communist countries of Eastern Europe put obstacles of one sort or another in the way of Western reporters. But few go to the lengths of Romania which recently assigned an estimated 40 secret police cars and 150 agents to keep track of a single visiting journalist.

During a 10-day visit to Romania, my notebooks became so full of the license numbers of police cars tailing me that eventually I gave up writing them down. Plainclothes agents were stationed in restaurants, hotel reception areas, even behind bushes and telegraph poles.

Fresh teams of radio-linked patrol cars lay in wait outside every major town—and there was also a regular rotation of personnel between day and evening shifts. The secret police escort never numbered less than two cars and frequently there were as many as three or four to cover all possible routes at highway intersections.

The effort appeared designed to prevent any unauthorized contacts with ordinary Romanian citizens. But it also provided an excellent first-hand insight into the workings of one of the most feared secret police organizations in Eastern Europe today.

This month another Western correspondent, Peter Ristic of the London Observer, was detained at Bucharest airport for three days after being refused permission to enter Romania. While waiting for the next plane back to Belgrade, Yugoslav capital, he was kept in a small room under constant guard and not allowed to contact the British Embassy.

After being expelled, Ristic said his coverage last year of Romanian dissidents including an independent trade union movement appeared to be the reason for his being declared "persona non grata" by the authorities. He added that when he protested at being locked up, a Romanian guard threatened to place him in handcuffs.

The harassment of Western correspondents is a reflection of the extreme sensitivity of President Nicolae Ceausescu to negative publicity abroad about human rights violations in Romania. His government has made a major effort to convince the West that it is fulfilling all its obligations under the 1975 Helsinki declaration on security and cooperation in Europe which comes up for review in Madrid later this year.

Contact between ordinary people and foreigners is controlled more closely in Romania than anywhere else in the Soviet bloc. Western diplomats stationed in Bucharest complain that informal contacts with Romanian officials have to be channeled through the protocol department of the Foreign Ministry. Invitations to functions are frequently accepted and then turned down at the last minute.

Several years ago, the Romanian government passed a law forbidding foreigners from spending the night in Romanian homes. The measure appeared largely directed against Hungarians and Germans visiting their co-nationals in Transylvania, but it has also prevented Romanian families from earning extra money by renting out rooms to foreign tourists.

The security services, which together with the uniformed militia form part of the Ministry of the Interior, have posts in every town and village in the country. They can also count on a network of hundreds of thousands of informers in this Balkan nation of 22 million people.

The writer Paul Goma, who launched an appeal for greater respent for human rights in Romania, once joked that there were only two people in the whole country unafraid of the secret police: "President Ceausescu and myself." Soon after making that joke, he was detained by the security services for a gruelling month-long interrogation. He now lives in France.

For the foreign journalist, protected by his profession, the attentions of the Romanian secret police are annoying rather than frightening. They can also be amusing as attempts by agents to remain inconspicuous render them very conspicuous.

In contrast to the friendly helpfulness of ordinary Romanians, plainclothes policemen are identifiable by their monosyllabic negative grunts when engaged in conversation. When pursued themselves, either on foot or by car, they tend to flee in the opposite direction as fast as possible.

Agents assigned to follow me resorted to a variety of ruses to conceal their identities. The rapid wig-changing technique of one woman agent was impressive as was the sense of devotion displayed by a male agent during an orthodox church service in a Moldavian village.

Some agents suceeded in giving themselves away by theatrical behavior. One flattened himself dramatically against the wall of an alley as I drove past. Another attempted to hide behind a concrete electricity pylon rather too narrow for his wide girth. A third replied with an over-incredulous "Who me?" in English when accused of listening to telephone calls from the hotel reception desk.

The most ingenious device was employed by a male agent stationed at a bus stop on a deserted country road between Alba Julia and Deva in central Romania. In an apparent attempt to prove his status as an ordinary Romanian citizen, he hitched a lift from a passing truck.

Followed round the corner, the agent was seen getting out of the truck and walking towards two waiting cars. Apparently panicking, he ran for the cover of a nearby woods as his colleagues roared off in their cars to a screech of tires. None of them was ever seen again— and a fresh team of undercover agents was sent out from the next town.

N.Y. TIMES, JULY 4, [illegible]

United Press International

The aircraft used by the fleeing Rumanians after it landed in a field in Austria

20 Rumanians Flee to the West in Crop-Duster Plane

By The Associated Press

GRAZ, Austria, July 3 — Twenty Rumanians, fleeing to the West in a state-owned crop-dusting plane, flew undetected across Hungary today and landed in an Austrian cornfield. They asked for political asylum and were taken to a refugee center while their requests were processed.

The escape, from one of Eastern Europe's most restrictive countries, was reportedly led by an agricultural engineer. The 10 adults in the group, which included two teen-agers and eight younger children, were said to have worked together in an agricultural enterprise near the city of Arad, 265 miles northwest of Bucharest.

Austrian officials said the flight appeared to have been carefully planned, and they praised the Rumanian pilot for his skill in bringing the plane down safely. The plane, which was slightly damaged on landing, was running out of fuel and the pilot had to avoid high-tension wires as he came down. No one was injured.

The pilot, 27-year-old Aurel Popescu, brought the aircraft, an Antonov-2 propeller-driven biplane with a red, yellow and blue Rumanian flag on its tail, to a landing just nine miles inside Austria after a two-hour flight from Arad. His 19 passengers were crammed into a space that at the most was designed to hold 14.

"The last minutes of the flight must have been the worst," said Johann Zach, mayor of the village of Pertlstein, near where the plane landed. "We noticed that the pilot was flying back and forth, even flying below high voltage lines to find a proper landing space."

Austrian officials said the plane had been able to cross some 240 miles of Hungarian airspace without incident apparently by flying low on the way.

Village residents said the Rumanians, despite language difficulties, told them that many in the group were related. A teen-ager in the group said that all mem-

Continued on Page A2, Column 1

20 Rumanians Flee to the West in Crop-Duster Plane

Continued From Page A1

bers were seeking political asylum. The oldest adult among them appeared to be about 50.

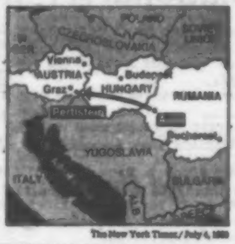
"We prepared some food for the children at the local inn," Mayor Zach said, adding that all the Rumanians' luggage fitted into the baggage compartment of the village's fire truck. "They not only had medicine but also chamber pots for the children," he said.

Another person was to have been aboard the aircraft, the Rumanians said, but did not appear in time for the early-morning flight.

"None of them had more than one piece of baggage, but we were surprised how well they had everything planned," Mayor Zach said.

Restrictive Emigration Policy

Austrian officials said Mr. Popescu would face unspecified legal action for taking a Rumanian-owned airplane out of the country illegally.



The New York Times / July 4, 1980

The organizers of the flight decided upon their dramatic means of escape because of Rumania's official policy of discouraging emigration and even travel abroad. It appears to be more difficult for Rumanians to get permission to travel outside Eastern Europe than it is for Hungarians and Poles.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, said in a recent report that young Rumanian men who apply to emigrate or travel abroad were likely to "find themselves drafted into special military units which perform heavy manual labor."

Despite the official restrictions, Carter Administration officials say, Rumania does seek to grant permission for some emigration for the purpose of reuniting members of a family.

In a report by President Carter to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is charged with monitoring the Helsinki accords of 1975, it was noted that the United States Embassy in Bucharest issued 168 immigrant visas from April 1979 to September 1979 to Rumanians wishing to join relatives in the United States. The embassy was also said to have 'documented 842 Rumanians for entry into the United States as refugees" in the same period.

Some of the Rumanian defectors who flew into Austria enjoy refreshments a amnesty international news release

304 West 58 Street . New York NY 10019 . Tel: (212) 582-4440 Telex: 666628

EMBARGOED FOR: 12 noon, Monday, June 30, 1980

CONTACT: Larry Cox
Press Officer
212/582-4440

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SAYS DISSENTERS FACE WIDE RANGE OF PENALTIES IN ROMANIA

Amnesty International said today (Monday, June 30, 1980) that Romanian authorities deploy a wide range of legal and extra-legal penalties against those who breach official limits on political, religious and social expression.

In a 20-page briefing on human rights issues ~~of concern~~ to Amnesty International in Romania, ~~it~~ AI cited the use of imprisonment, "corrective labor," confinement to psychiatric hospitals, and the inadequacy of legal safeguards. The organization also called attention to cases of harassment, intimidation and dismissal or transfer from jobs.

The country's constitution and laws restrict the freedoms of speech, press and assembly, providing penalties for such offences as "anti-state propaganda." The number of people imprisoned on such overtly political charges appears to have fallen in recent years, but some dissenters have faced criminal charges -- which Amnesty International believes to be false -- such as "parasitism" and "homosexual relations," according to the briefing paper.

Among those who have been punished are members of an unofficial trade union, unauthorized religious activists, would-be emigrants and critics of government practices affecting human rights.

One of the cases cited is that of Janos Török, a textile worker and Communist Party member who criticized the system by which National Assembly members are elected during a meeting in March 1975 at his place of work in Cluj. He was arrested by the Securitate (political police) and was reported to have been severely beaten during prolonged interrogation. He was confined to a psychiatric hospital and forcibly injected with large doses of sedatives. Released from hospital in March 1978, Török has been under house arrest since then, permitted to leave his home once a month to report to a psychiatric clinic.

He is only one of a number of dissenters who have been subjected to compulsory psychiatric confinement, although Romanian law prescribes this only for those who are dangerous to themselves or others, or who are judged to be about to commit serious crimes.

Members of an unofficial "Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers," founded in February 1979, have been penalized in various ways: Dr. Ionel Cana was sentenced in June 1979 to five and a half years' imprisonment on charges that have not been made public. Others have been given shorter terms for offences such as disseminating information abroad

(please turn over)

without official permission and "parasitism." Economist Georghe Brasoveanu was reported to have been confined to a psychiatric hospital in March 1979 -- the fifth time in eight years that he has been confined after criticizing official policies.

In August 1977, miners in the Jiu Valley went on strike in a dispute over pensions, benefits and safety standards. Those who played prominent parts in the strike were arrested and sent without trial to work in other districts under police surveillance. Several sources have said that two strike leaders died shortly after the strike in circumstances never satisfactorily investigated by police, although Romanian authorities have denied these reports.

Georghe Rusu, an economist, applied in 1977 to emigrate to France in order to join his wife and child there. Arrested on charges of homosexual acts, he was acquitted by a local Bucharest court for lack of evidence, but was later sentenced to three years in prison after the procurator appealed against the first verdict.

People who went on hunger-strikes or demonstrated in support of demands to be allowed to emigrate have been imprisoned or confined to psychiatric hospitals; other dissenters, however, have been harassed until they accepted passports and left the country.

Religious dissenters who have been punished include an Orthodox priest, Father Calciu, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on charges that have not been made public, and Protestant activists sentenced on charges of causing public disturbance and "parasitism."

An Amnesty International delegation visited Romania in February 1979, after the organization launched a campaign the previous autumn against human rights violations in that country. Amnesty International has requested the opportunity to send a second mission, to investigate human rights problems and the abuse of psychiatry in particular.

- 30 -

NOTE: Copies of the Romania Briefing Paper are available from Amnesty International U.S.A.
304 West 58 Street, New York, New York 10019.

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 16, 1980

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The question of the renewal of Most Favored Nation status for Romania is scheduled for consideration in the coming weeks and, in preparation for that review, we wished to raise with you several issues that are of considerable concern to us.

We are pleased to note that emigration from Romania to the United States has been increasing over the past five years and that your Embassy has generally been responsive to specific family reunification cases that have been brought to your attention. In that connection, we are enclosing a list of cases which include several long-standing ones that have already been sent to you but have yet to be resolved, and several new cases, that we hope could be reviewed and favorably considered.

While there has been an overall increase in the number of Romanians coming to the United States, we are concerned about the more general problem of worsening emigration procedures. Except for recent months when there has been a slight increase over past years' low figures, the number of Romanian Jews immigrating to Israel has been steadily declining. We noted with interest the recent announcement of a complete amnesty for the so-called Jewish "economic criminals", whom we hope will shortly be allowed to emigrate, and also noted the special agreement that had been reached last year between your government and several U.S. organizations. While we realize that one year is a brief period in which to assess the results of that agreement, nevertheless, a significant backlog of cases has yet to be resolved and we still hear that procedural obstacles to emigration have not diminished for those immigrating either to Israel or the United States. Those obstacles include: the need to apply for an application form; the need to appear before special "People's Commissions"; long delays and frequent refusals before exit permission is granted; and harassment of emigration applicants at their home, office or school. Since Romania first received Most Favored Nation status in 1975, we hear that these procedures have worsened, rather than improved. A worsening of emigration procedures would seem to us to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of Section 402 of the Trade Act.

-2-

We would greatly appreciate your consideration of these matters and are grateful for the prompt response you have made to our inquiries in the past.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits
Ranking Minority Member

Frank Church
Chairman

His Excellency
Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

Enclosure

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT BY CYRUS GILBERT ABBE BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, JULY, 1980

After visiting Rumania and conferring with numerous Rumanian Jews about the obstacles placed in the way of their emigration by the Rumanian government I have reached the following conclusions:

I. The Rumanian authorities are preventing Jews from emigrating.
   - A. Tens of thousands of Rumanian Jews want to be reunited with their families in Israel.
   - B. The number of Rumanian Jews allowed to emigrate each year has declined approximately 80% from about 4,000 each year in 1973 and 1974 to an expected total of about 800 this year.
   - C. The application procedure for an exit visa is tortuous, and those who are fortunate to receive visas often wait years before obtaining them.
   - D. Potential applicants are afraid to apply because of the long and burdensome procedure and the persecution while waiting for a visa.
   - E. The Rumanian government has failed to honor the commitment it made to the American Jewish community last year at the time of these hearings that any person who wanted to emigrate would be free to do so, that applications for exit visas would be readily available and that these applications would be processed expeditiously.
   - F. The applicants are aware of America's concern as reflected in the Helsinki Agreement and the trade legislation and beg your assistance.
   - G. Attached is a list of some Rumanian Jews waiting to emigrate who have contacted me asking for assistance by the American government.

II. Congress should deny the waiver of the freedom of emigration requirements with respect to Rumania and should deny Rumania most-favored-nation trade privileges until concrete evidence is provided by the Rumanian government that the application procedure has been changed completely and free emigration will be permitted.

STATEMENT BY CYRUS GILBERT ABBE BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, JULY, 1980

Based upon my visits to the Jewish Community in Rumania, extensive discussions with Rumanian Jews who have, after great difficulties, been allowed to emigrate from Rumania, and substantial correspondence with Jews in Rumania and their relatives all over the world, I have the following conclusions:

1) Tens of thousands of Jews would like to emigrate to Israel.
2) Although about 4,000 Jews left for Israel each year in 1973 and 1974, less than 1,000 Jews were allowed to leave for Israel in 1979. If the current rate of emigration for 1980 continues, only about 800 Jews will leave for Israel this year. Thus there has been a decline from about 4,000 each year in 1973 and 1974 to about 800 in 1980, a decline of 80%.
3) The procedure to apply for an exit visa is extremely difficult and tortuous. The request for a visa is sometimes denied or it takes years before approval is granted. The applicant is frequently subject to harassment and persecution during this long period without any assurance that he will ever receive the visa, and therefore many Jews are too frightened to apply.
4) The Rumanian government has failed to honor the commitment it made to the American Jewish community last year at the time of these hearings that any person who wanted to emigrate would be free to do so, that applications for exit visas would be readily available and that these applications would be processed expeditiously.
5) An extension of the waiver at this time after the enormous decline in the number of Jews allowed to leave for Israel in recent years and in the face of difficulties placed in the path of applicants for exit visas would be contrary to America's humanitarian policy as expressed in Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act which we are considering today and, of course, the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Accord.

I am an attorney by profession, but I have been active in Jewish affairs for many years and have worked as a volunteer to help Jews who seek to emigrate from Rumania. During my trips to Rumania numerous Jews who had applied for an exit visa told me how they were followed, how their phones were tapped, how they had been fired from their jobs, etc. Many of those who had not applied told me they wanted desperately to leave but knew that if they applied they may immediately be fired and might have to wait years to receive an exit visa, should it ever be granted, without any source of income to support them and their children. They advised me that the census figures for the number of Jews in Rumania was erroneous because many Jews were afraid to tell the census taker they were Jewish and some census takers discouraged Jews from calling themselves Jewish. Jews have even been afraid and unwilling to register with the Jewish Federation in Rumania so the total number of Jews registered with the Jewish Federation is merely a fraction of the Jewish population in Rumania. Estimates of the number of Jews remaining in Rumania ranged from about 50,000 to 100,000 and my best guess of the total would be around 70,000. As mentioned above whereas approximately 4,000 Jews a year were permitted to emigrate to Israel in 1973 and 1974, it appears that only about 800 Jews or 20% of the prior number will be allowed to go to Israel this year. Some of the older Jews in Rumania receive support. care and aid from the Joint Distribution Committee supported by the United Jewish Appeal and and feel too old to emigrate, but the overwhelming proportion of the younger Jews and some of the older ones are eager to move to Israel and be reunited with their families there. Although synagogues may exist in Rumania, everyone is required to work on Saturday so the only Jews able to attend Sabbath morning services are those who are retired. Although kosher food and other religious observances may be maintained, this limited form of Jewish life does not compare with the full Jewish existence available in Israel, and the Rumanian Jews long to join their families in Israel. There are now about 300,000 Rumanian Jews living in Israel, most having left Rumania just after the end of World War II, so those left in Rumania frequently have almost their entire family in Israel.

Athough most of the estimated 70,000 Jews in Rumania want to emigrate, a complex and tortuous application procedure for an exit visa has been instituted by the Rumanian government not only to delay seriously and unnecessarily the length of time an applicant must wait for an exit visa but also to intimidate, frighten and discourage Jews from asking for exit visas. Until a couple of years ago a person wishing to emigrate completed a large application form and then would wait many months or years for a response. A couple of years ago the Rumanian government instituted a new procedure whereby the applicant must first complete a brief preliminary request form. Only if this is approved does he receive the large application form. (Jews in Bucharest suspect the reason for the change is so that when a member of Congress asks about an individual seeking to emigrate, the Rumanian Ambassador can say he hasn't even applied to leave when in reality the government has rejected his preliminary request and refused to give him an application form.) After the applicant submits the preliminary request a delay of several months normally follows and then he is summoned to a meeting at the People's Council in the area where he works. There he is frequently humiliated and advised to withdraw his request. If he refuses, he is often threatened and told orally that he will not be permitted to leave. After several more months of waiting he will usually receive a formal written rejection of his request. He then begins to submit complaints with the hope that the decision will be reversed. It may never be reversed, or sometimes after a short or long period of waiting his complaint is recognized and he is given the application form. After he completes and submits the application form he continues to wait with no assurance of approval. In spite of criticism by Congressmen of this intimidating application procedure, the Rumanian government decided last year instead of easing the procedure to make it even worse. Before the applicant could even receive the preliminary request form he must first place his name on a list. Then at a later time he would be summoned to a meeting with the authorities who would determine if he should be given the preliminary request form. Imagine now a procedure where (1) an applicant must place his name on a list, wait and then appear before the authorities to ask for a preliminary request form, then (2) if, after waiting for a response, he is one of those who is given the preliminary request form, he will have to wait again after he has submitted it and then appear before the People's Council to determine if he should be given the application form, then (3) if, after waiting for a response, he is one of those who is given the application form, he will after submitting the application form have to wait once again for the government's response, then (4) if his application form is approved he will have to obtain and submit to the government dozens of documents regarding his home, his job, etc., then (5) if those documents are all in order his exit visa will finally be granted. At all of these steps applicants are rejected, but since an applicant has already announced his desire to emigrate from the beginning of this tortuous proceding he is frequently subjected during this long period of time to harassment and persecution such as being followed, having his phone tapped and being fired from his job so that he is obliged to remain in Rumania but has no source of income. Is there any doubt in the face of

copy available

this procedure that the Rumanian government has decided to violate the terms of the Helsinki Accord and the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment and to disregard the repeated requests of Congressmen for an easing of the Rumanian application procedure? Can anyone doubt that this procedure and the accompanying persecution make many Jews who want to leave too frightened to take the first step and put their names on the list for the exit visa?

As examples of the refusal of the Rumanian government to grant exit visas and the harassment of applicants please consider the situations of (a) the Moraru family who first applied for exit visas to join their family in Israel in January 1977 and have been refused such permission four times already without any reasons given, (b) Gheorghe and Ileana Rafael-Stefanescu, two physicians who applied to emigrate in 1977 and were both then fired from their jobs and their applications rejected, (c) Sergiu and Ruxandra Ratescu who, after requesting permission to go to Israel since 1970, were finally told in 1977 that their passports were ready, but after completing their preparations to emigrate and leaving their jobs were told it was all a mistake and they could not emigrate, and (d) Anna Blum and Viorica Wexler who were convicted in anti-semitic trials held about 20 years ago in Rumania in which all the defendants were Jews, the defendants were held incommunicado for over a year without being able to see any family or friends or confer with an attorney, the trials were held in secret without any of the procedures of due process, they were imprisoned for many years, they are still required to pay huge fines and they are prevented from emigrating to Israel.

Last year at the time of these hearings the Rumanian government assured and agreed with the American Jewish community that (a) any person who wanted to emigrate would be free to do so, (b) that applications for exit visas would be readily available and (c) that these applications would be processed expeditiously. Unfortunately, however, the Rumanian government has failed to honor these three commitments, and many Jews who advised the Jewish Federation in Rumania last year that they had applied months and even years earlier and had been waiting so very long for exit visas are still in Rumania today, one year later.

I am proud as an American of our government's concern for human rights around the world, for free emigration, for reunification of families. But how shallow our words must appear when year after year despite the constant expression of concern by this Committee and other Congressmen the Rumanian government decreases the number of Jews allowed to join their families in Israel and continues an application procedure which is tortuous and intimidating. With emigration of Rumanian Jews to Israel down by about 80% and the application procedure a terrifying example of Rumania's disregard for the principle of free emigration it is time to deny the waiver of the freedom of emigration requirements with respect to Rumania. It is time to deny most-favored-nation trade privileges to Rumania until concrete evidence is provided by the Rumanian government that the application procedure has been changed completely and free emigration will be permitted. Rumania's strong desire for trade with America will encourage her to change her emigration policies quickly, and the Jackson-Vanik Amendment will have effectively assisted numerous individuals to live free from persecution and to to be reunited with their families.

May 27th, 1980

RUMANIAN JEWS SEEKING TO EMIGRATE

1. Israil and Tilia Abramovici
(and their daughter Rodica Biegel,
son-in-law George Biegel and
grandson Daniel Biegel)
Presei Str. No. 5
Ap. 21/B
Seltor 1
Bucharest, Rumania

2. Anna Blum
52 Popa Soare St.
Bucharest, Rumania

3. Iom and Rina-Dina Buraga
(and her son Marion Spiter)
Stefan cel Mare
Bloc A 5
Pascani, Rumania

4. Dan-Alexandru and Rodica Chicu
Str. 13 Decembrie No. 1
Sector 1
Bucharest 70116, Rumania

5. Serioja Constantin and his brother Iuri Constantin
Bu. Republicu 48
Bucharest 70034, Rumania

6. Harry and Zina Copolovici
(and their daughter Manuela)
23 August Street No. 38
B 14, Intr. B, et 1
Jasi, Rumania

7. Louis and Paula Enescu
(and their daughter Zizi Mihaela Sobaru
and son-in-law Gheorghe Sobaru)
Intr. Ion Sulea No. 40
Bl. M11, sc. 3, et. 3, ap 42
Sector 3
Bucharest 74712, Rumania

Rumanian Jews Seeking to Emigrate
May 27, 1980 (2)

8. Stefan and Eva Feldman
   (and their son Peter and Eva's mother Hirschl Rozalia)
   3-5 Moceanu Street
   Sector 1
   Bucharest, Rumania

9. Mircea and Elena Fenesan
   Str. Balcescu 1
   Cluj, Rumania

10. Eugen Fundulea
    St. N. Balcescu 55
    Bl. 8, ap. 36
    Buzau, Rumania

11. Silviu and Monica Grunberg
    Cartier Cornisa
    Bl. Turn 6, et. 1, ap. 7, sc. B
    Bacau, Rumania

12. Ilie and Carla Istrate
    (and their sons Dan and Andi)
    Str. Odobesti No. 4
    Sc. 3 ap. 44
    Bucharest, Rumania

13. Avram and Iulia Iticzon
    (and their daughter Paula Croitoru and
    son-in-law Marcel Croitoru and
    grandsons Iosif and Sorin Croitoru,
    and their daughter Mariana Gutman
    and son-in-law Bruno Gutman and
    grandson Eduard Gutman)
    21 Suciava Street
    Birlad
    Vaslui Region
    Rumania

14. Gheorghe Izsak and his brother Andrei-Stefan Izsak
    Napoca 27
    Cluj-Napoca
    Rumania

Rumanian Jews Seeking to Emigrate
May 27, 1980 (3)

15. Erna Leibovic
Str. Mihai Viteazu No. 14
Suceava, Rumania

16. Herman Leizerovici
Str. Unirii No. 7A
Bl. 53 ap. 1
Botosani, Rumania

17. Alexandru and Liliana Mararu
Poenaru Bordea No. 6
Ap. 9
Sector 5
Bucharest 70502, Rumania

18. Ioland Ostfeld
13 N. Balcescu Street
Vatra Dornei, Rumania

19. Gheorghe and Illeanu Rafael-Stefanescu
(and their two sons)
114 Aleea Vergulin St.
Bucharest, Rumania

20. Sergiu and Ruxandra Ratescu
(and their son Sebastian)
Str. Liviu Rebreanu no. 7
Bl. 51, et. 8, ap. 123
Sector 4
Bucharest, Rumania

Sergiu's mother also wants to emigrate
Jeana Ratescu
B-dul Muncii no. 94
Bl. 1/B, et. 1, ap. 3
Sector 3
Bucharest, Rumania

21. Roberto Rimniceanu
Str. Judetului 15
Bl. 17, Sc. 4, et. 8 ap. 136
Sector 2
Bucharest, Rumania

Rumanian Jews Seeking to Emigrate
May 27, 1980 (4)

22. Mircea and Margareta Ruse
(and their daughter Monica and their son Dorin Ruse,
Dorin's wife Doina, and Dorin's son Christian)
28 Racaci Street
Cluj, Rumania

23. Simon and Renee Sfarti
(and their children Adrian and Gebrielle)
Str. Batiste No.5
Et. 5, ap. 12B
Sector 1
Bucharest 70131, Rumania

24. Petru and Gheorghina Szasz
(and their daughter Freya)
Str. Aleea Pantelimon No. 18
Bl. B3, sc. A, et. 3, ap. 38
Sector 3
Cod 73526 Bucharest, Rumania

25. Eugen Teszler
Str Cusbuc 4
Et. 6, ap.22
Bucharest, Rumania

26. Peter and Clara Vertes
Valea Argesului Street No. 11
Bl. A 6, ap. 21
Sector 7
Bucharest, Rumania

27. Viorica Wexler
Bolinteano 2
Sector 4
Bucharest, Rumania

Marmor Maria
60/55 Hanita Str.
Haifa, Neve-Shaanan
Israel

January 24, 1979

Dear Sir:

The undersigned, Maria Marmor (born Rafael), herewith requests your help in the immigration problem of my only brother.

My brother, Dr. Rafael - Stefanescu Gheorghe, is living in 114 Aleea Vergulin St., Bucharest, Romania, with his wife and two sons. He has registered to immigrate to Isreal about 18 months ago, naturally together with his above mentioned members of his family. The request has been refused, and both, he a M.D. for internal diseases, she a M.D. gynecologist, were dismissed from their jobs for good. He was his professor's senior assistant at the prestigious Cantacuzino Hospital in Bucharest.

In order to earn their living, my brother has no choice but to work by day as a sports-doctor of a sports club and by night he is being on duty on ambulances. His wife, Dr. Ileana Stefanescu, lost her position also and has taken up a sewing job to help ends meet.

These problems are well known to you. I would only like to add to more circumstances that shed a tragic light on my brother's unhappy fate.

After the Second-World-War he was expelled from Communist Romania's medical facilities because of his middle-class Jewish origin. His parents died shortly, and as an orphan he supported himself working as a nurse. Only many years afterwards could he attend university again, but was obliged to register as a freshman, notwithstanding his earlier studies. Nevertheless, due to his single-mindedness and perseverance, he became not only a M.D., but the assistant of a well-known professor in a well-known hospital of the Romanian capital. Registering for immigration to Israel put an abrupt end to his promising career.

Consequently, I desperately request your help in urging and facilitating a positive reply of the Romanian authorities for my brother and his family.

Thanking you in advance for your help, please let us have as early as possible your information about the possibilities in this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Marmor Maria
Haifa-Israel

2/12/80
Chicago

Dear Sir:

Before I left Romania, a couple of months ago, I got married to the boy I was engaged to for five years. On December 6, 1979 he made the first applications to get the exit visa, to leave the country, to live together with me. My husband teaches in a high school, and he was told he's not good for the education if he wants to leave the country. Can you imagine what they tried to do to him? They wanted to take him obligatory into the army for two years. I did not receive any correspondance from him, because they stop it. I'm very afraid of this whole situation, I'm afraid of what can happen to him just because that he wants to live together with his wife and because we are Jewish. Please, help us. Do everything what you can. Here is his name, birthdate and address:

Roberto Rimniceanu-born in Bucharest, November 4, 1955.

Str. Judetului 15
Bl. 17, Sc. 4, et. 8 ap. 136
Sector 2
Bucharest, Rumania

Sincerely,

Florentina Rimniceanu
(312) 281 - 3064

3 May 1980

Dear Sir:

I apply to you to help my sister and her husband to leave Romania. They applied for a visa in July 1979, and in April 1930 they received a negative answer. She was dismissed from her work. (She was a teacher)

Their name and address:

Peter and Clara Vertes
Valea Argesului Str. Nr. 11
Bloc A 6 ap. 21
Sector 7
Romania

My name and address:

Francis Waldmann
Rehov Mivtra Jonatan 16/13
Cfar Sava, Israel

I do not have a telephone.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Francis Waldmann

Haifa, October 24, 1979

Dear Sir,

My name is Gabur Ena-Ita and I lived since 1976 in Israel-Haifa. I am facing you with the request to solve,as far as possible, the difficulties my nephew (my sister's son) was and is still facing since he requested the emigration visa for Israel.

I'll give you all the details I know about my nephew. His name is OSTFELD IOLAND and he lives in Vatra Dornei 13, N. Balcescu Street - Romania, Phone number 70684. He is 26 years old and graduated Electronics in Bucharest in 1977. At present he is working in Satu-Mare, city of Romania, as an electronical engineer.

Ostfeld Ioland first requested emigration visa in August 1978 and received a negative answer from the Government in about a month's time. Since August 1978 until now he requested the visa for four times and each time he received a negative answer. He is very unhappy and disappointed because he dreamed to leave for Israel which he loves very much and to work among the young and free Israelis since he was a teen-ager. Although he obtained fine results in his studies and hoped in a successful career, he wasn't given any responsibilities ever since he applied for the first time to the Romanian authorities. He works in an unpleasant atmosphere of suspicion on the part of his boss and fellows. He is always afraid of losing his job and is forced to bear persecutions there every day.

According to what we have learned from many sources we know that you are making every effort and don't spare any way to solve the request for emigration visas from dictatorial,communist countries to the free world, no matter if it is Israel or another country. Taking in view all these facts, we hope that you'll take into consideration our request and that you'll help by any means a young man whose only aim is liberty in his own homeland.

Sincerely yours,

Gabur Ena-Ita
47/38 Saadia Paz Street
Shar Halya
Haifa
Israel

354 South Arden Blvd
Los Angeles, CA 90020
June 25, 1979

Dear Sir:

I am writing on behalf of Alexandru and Liliana Moraru, who live at Poenaru Bordea No. 6, apt 9, Sector 5, Bucharest 70502, Rumania.

They first applied for exit visas to join their relatives in Israel in January 1977, and have now received their fourth refusal for no reason.

Is their any help you can furnish? Their human rights are being denied even though Rumania receives "Most Favored Nation" Status in our country.

Please advise.

Very sincerely,

Mrs Dorothy S Gould

General Information

1-Alexandru Moraru, age 29 (husband)
Poenaru Bordea No. 6, apt 9, sect. 5
Bucharest 70502, Rumania

Liliana Moraru, age 26 (wife)
(same address)

2-Alexandru Moraru is an Electrical Engineer
Liliana Moraru has a Master of Arts (Film)

3-Alexandru's current job Engineer at Electro-tecnic Co, Bucharest

4-Alexandru's first request was January 1977.
Large application was submitted.
Four negative answers received for no reason.

5-Alexandru has had no position advancement as punishment, though he was eligible for several.

6-Relatives in Israel include:
[illegible] (Liliana's aunt)
[illegible] Haifa, Israel
[illegible] (Liliana's aunt)
[illegible] Tel Aviv, Israel
[illegible] (Alexandru's uncle)
[illegible], Israel

Gabriel Sonnenfeld
9A Bastille Str.
Haifa
Israel

Dear Sir:

I know your record of helping people in realizing their basic right of free immigration to Israel. The knowledge that you have a great deal of influence and moral interest with the problems of human rights,especially with those pertaining to aliyah, motivates this appeal for help.

Behind the Iron Curtain lives a person wishing and trying for the last year to immigrate to Israel. Although there is a set standard procedure which enables Jews to see their religious and political freedom via immigration to Israel, in this particular case during the period of one year, five consecutive applications were processed by standard beaurocratic means - all unfortunately to no avail. The subject of this letter is:

Name: Erna Leibovic
Address: Str. Mihai Viteazu Nr. 14, Suceava, RSR (Rumania)
Tel. (087) 15642
Born: March 18th 1952
Profession: Dental Laboratory Technician
Employed at: People's Polyclinic, Suceava
History of applications: Six consecutive applications with five negative answers
Marital Status: Single
Family Status: Pensioner parents in Rumania
Relative: Uncle, Max Schnarch, Rehov Ytziat Europa 11/12, Haifa, Israel
Tel. (04) 529421

I have written this letter in the hope of receiving your assistance in helping Erna achieve a new way of life she is dreaming about and living for. She has but one wish, to immigrate here. She truly cannot see any future continuing her depressed and smothered lifestyle available in Rumania.

I want to express my utmost gratitude for any and all help pertaining to this matter of great importance and personal distress. This is because Erna is my Fiancee.

Respectfully Yours,

Gabriel Sonnenfeld

the 8th October 1978

Dear Sir,

I am writing this letter to you with the greatest hope that you have the possibility and ability to help me.

I come to you on behalf of my nephew, the son of my beloved dead brother, who made many a requests to leave Roumania definitively and come to Israel. One of his aims is to be with me, who am an old man, ill, and care for me. As I have no children, my deepest wish is to adopt him in order not to be alone and that someone of my blood be with me.

My nephew is :

MATASCU SERGIU, son of my dead brother David, 32 years old, profession arhitect. After working as a teacher at the School of Arhitecture, as a painter at the firm of [illegible], Bucharest, and also as assistant at the Faculty of Arhitecture, he is now - as a result of his request to emigrate to Israel - employed as an unimportant architect in a small firm with a very low salary, barely enough for a living. He is married to :

MATASCU RUXANDRA - born Vlad, age 30, profession English and German teacher. As a result of her request to leave Roumania, beeing still a student, she was expelled from the last year of her university studies. In order to complete her studies, she had to withdraw her request for a passport. When she finished her degree, they applied again for the passport.

They have a son :

MATASCU SEBASTIAN - 5 years old, and their address is :

Bucharest, Sector 4, Str.Liviu Rebreanu no.7
Bloc 51, floor 8, apart.123
Telephone number : 47-27-23.

All the above have requested a passport to leave for Israel in 1970. They have sent numerous reminders, but all the replies were negative. One of their reminders no.35294 was sent to the Ministry on April 6, 1976. Onother one no.2867 dated April 5, 1976, was sent to the Department of State. In one of the negative replies they received, was stated that they do not go over requests that have once been turned down.

A year ago, in 1977, they received an announcement from the Ministry that they have the passports ready. The number of the passports were :

Sergiu PPC $\frac{80526}{525638}$ Ruxandra PPC $\frac{80527}{525638}$.

After they Had completed their preparations and also resigned from their services, they were informed that all the matter concerning their

continued 2.

passports was a mistake. As a favour he was accepted back to his previous job - in that unimportant small firm, - but was also laughed at that he will finish working as a street sweeper if he again applies for a passport. His salary is very low and it is barely enough for a living. His wife is in the same position. The family is always threatened not to apply again for a passport. They suffer enormously both economically and emotionally. My nephew suffers deeply because of the emotional strain he is under all the time.

There is also a problem with my sister-in-law, the widow of my beloved brother and mother of my nephew Sergiu :

RATESCU JEANA, age 61, profession pharmacist, retired. Address :

Bucharest, Sector 3,
B-dul Muncii no.94, Bloc 1/B, 1st floor, ap.3
Telephone number : 21-80-05 .

She lost her husband - my brother David - who became very ill and had an infarctus of which he died, as a result of their sufferings. She also wants badly to come to Israel, but she cannot and does not want to emigrate without her son, daughter-in-law and small nephew Sebastian aged 5.

I personnaly am an retired pharmacist, 72 years old, living in Petach Tikva, 49465, Rehov Itzhak Sade 34/B, Israel. My telephone number is : 92-89-34.

I am a close relative to the aboves.

Besides, my sister-in-law Ratescu Jeana, has also a sister : ARNON HARRIET who lives in Carmiel, with her daughter and family, address : Carmiel, 16/B Hagalil Street, apart.22.

I beg you to intervene for my relatives, whose only crime is their longing to come to their homeland - Israel, to live here as free people together with their family.

With many thanks,

Yours faithfully
Ratescu Iosef
Ratescu Iosef
Itzhak Sade Street 34/B
49465 Petach Tikva
Israel

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)
UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF
The St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church
50 WEST 89th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024, U.S.A. • PHONE (212) 874-4490

July 21, 1980

STATEMENT

OF

The Very Rev. Florian M. Galdau, Chairman of the American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees (ARCAR) Before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate.

Mr. Chairman and Honorable Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the privilege and honor to once more appear before you today. I am Father Florian M. Galdau, rector of The St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church of New York and chairman of The American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees (ARCAR). I am a U. S. citizen and a native of Romania.

Concerning The Trade Pact of 1974 which stipulates free emigration and visits abroad by Romanian citizens, we respectfully submit that the Romanian Government has not honored these provisions. The following cases are the best proof of our statement:

The Communist Party of Romania is as eager as ever to deny passports and exit visas to any citizen, Jew or gentile, using such sadistic means as arrest and torture and other forms of intimidation to stop people from leaving the country.

For example, Mr. Herman Bichman, a Jew, and his wife, Eliza, a gentile, of Alea Obcina - MIca #1, bloc 2, etaj. 3, apt. 19, Bucharest, sect. 7 were denied visas three times during the past three years to visit their only daughter, Miss Elena Caragiu (Cara), a permanent resident, of 15 Vermilyea Ave. apt. 3, New York, New York 10034. No reason was given.

Another example, Mr. Anghela/che Tesu, 70 years, and his wife, Ioana, 59, of Str. Intrarea Alpinistilor #9, Bucharest, Sect.8, have been denied exit papers for the last 7 years. They are parents of Mrs. Mina Winters, a permanent U.S. resident who is married to a native U.S. citizen and will become a citizen this year.

Another example is Mr. Astileanu Alexandru, his wife, Olga and son, Robert, of Str. Tinceni #8, bloc 18, Etaj 9, apt. 56, Bucharest, who is the brother of Mrs. Angela Balaneanu, a U.S. citizen of 186 Spring Oakes Drive, Wood Dale, Ill. 61911. INS has approved this family to emigrate to the U.S. two years ago but the Romanian Government has refused them exit papers.

A case just as striking as the above is that of a five years old boy, Bogdan, Radu-Serbu, of Str. Lanei #13A, 2400 Sibiu, Romania. He is in the care of his grandparents. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Radu and Mariana Serbu, of 9823 Lake Avenue, #405, Cleveland, Ohio 44102, have been promised by the Romanian Embassy in

Washington that their child would join them here shortly. Two years have passed since. The most prominent Communist in Romania after Ceausescu, a Party official from Transylvania, has written to the parents they would never see their child again unless they return to Romania. We can produce copies of this letter.

The above are only a few cases which prove that the Communist Party of Romania does not intend to change its emigration policies inspite of the agreements signed by President Ceausescu.

It is true that during 1979 The Romanian government has issued exit papers for a number of Romanians who wanted to rejoin their families here and in other countries, albeit not without repeated demonstrations and hunger strikes here, in Canada, West Germany and elsewhere.

Our Committee, however, wants to prove that there is no change in the heart and spirit of the Romanian Government toward emigration. The same holds true in their attitude toward U.S. citizens of Romanian origin.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. There is neither Religious nor Political freedom in Romania. For example, the Romanian Orthodox priest Fr. Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa was arrested on March 10, 1979, beaten and tortured so that his wife could not recognize him and refused medical treatment. He was sentenced to ten years

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES (ARCAR)
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-4-

of hard labor. He ic now in the infamous prison of Aiud for saying in one of his sermons that "Communist ideology is depressing and should be rejected by anyone believing in Christ." There are many other professionals and intellectuals who share the same prison life for their Faith in God. For example: Gheorge Braşoveanu, an adventist, in the prison of Galaţi; Dr.Ion Canǎ,M.D. in the same prison; Adventists:Gheorghe Alexandru, Mircea Dragomir;Lucian Bistriceanu, Petre Anghelus, and Viorel Ardeleanu have been sentenced from six months to several years for expressing their Christian Faith. There are many other people who are persecuted for their Christian beleifs; but their names are not yet available to our Committee. Our Committee,however,possesses many peremptory proofs of other more subtle mesures taken by the Communist Government of Romania against Religion,which will take too much time to be presented here.

For these reasons we feel that in all conscience we can not favor extention of the Trade Act of 1974 between United State of America and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Thank you !

Respectfully,

The V. Rev. Florian M. Galdau

The Very Rev. Fr.Florian M.Galdau
Chairman

New York,N.Y. July 21,1980

Senator **Ribicoff**. Mr. Warren Eisenberg, accompanied by Mr. George Spectre.

You may proceed, sir.

STATEMENT OF WARREN EISENBERG, DIRECTOR, B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL, ON BEHALF OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE SPECTRE, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Mr. **Eisenberg**. Mr. Chairman, we want to thank you for the opportunity to appear, and regret that our president, Jack Spitzer, of B'nai B'rith, is not able to be here today on behalf of the President's Conference of Major Jewish Organizations.

I just want to briefly summarize our testimony and our concerns. We are here to testify in favor of renewal of most-favored-nation treaty status for Romania because we believe it is in the best interest of the United States. We also believe it is in the best interest of continuing emigration of Jews from Romania.

Mr. Spitzer and other representatives from the President's Conference negotiated last year with the Romanian Government and worked out procedures for monitoring the emigration of Jews.

We see since that time that there has been some increase in numbers of departures, but I think every witness has testified so far as to a disparity that exists between the number of approvals granted and the actual number of individuals departing from Romania.

We have met with officials—I have, my associate, George Spectre, has. We have received assurances that specific cases would be solved, but we continue to be perplexed and disturbed over the existence of this backlog which counselor Ridgway pointed out was 700 or 800 cases. We find that many of the bureaucratic explanations of families waiting for the end of school year don't really make sense when you look at the figures.

I think this is an area that is of concern to us. The Jewish groups, the Senate itself, the State Department really have to concentrate on looking at not only whether the procedures are working, but how we eliminate this backlog, which would satisfy the basic tenets of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

Senator **Ribicoff**. I would appreciate it if you would send to Senator Dole and myself some recommendations of how to change these procedures so they wouldn't be working against emigration. What do you think the State Department should be aiming for? What do you think the Romanian Government should be doing to change their procedures? Are they reasonable? Are they unreasonable?

I think both Senator Dole and I would like to receive your recommendations, and then we will forward them on to the State Department for continued discussion. It would seem to me that such a long time has elapsed that between now and next year at this time, they should be able to straighten that out, if they would work at it.

You know, we would like to get your recommendations. The State Department says they don't know. Well, you people have been working with it. And that goes for Mr. Galdau, too. If you have some recommendations as to procedures, or anyone else, send them to us, and I assure you that Senator Dole and I will join together in urging some really serious negotiations between our Embassy in Bucharest and the Romanians to try to straighten this out.

Mr. EISENBERG. We will try to do that, Senator.

I think one of the problems may not only be the procedures. It may be general atmosphere under which the applications are made. The agreement reached by the Jewish organizations was an attempt to deal with that, and to some extent, as I have said, we have seen an increase in the numbers, and we can supply you with some numbers.

You raised the question of how many Jews, for example, were in the number of emigrants to the United States. We don't have exact figures, but HIAS, the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society, does provide figures, and for instance, in 1980, we see that between January and June, 50 came over, and in 1979 56 came over for the whole year.

Senator RIBICOFF. If those figures were correct——

Mr. EISENBERG. Yes, and we are assuming that if they are Jewish and they admit to being Jewish, that they would go to HIAS if they came to the United States. Now, that may not fully be——

Senator RIBICOFF. If they had relatives or they had other special close friends, then they wouldn't necessarily go to HIAS. They usually go to HIAS when they need help. Right?

Mr. EISENBERG. Right.

Senator RIBICOFF. So that wouldn't be an accurate barometer.

Mr. EISENBERG. Not totally, but I think it might give you some sense.

Senator RIBICOFF. Yes, a general idea.

Mr. EISENBERG. The other thing was, I think there were questions raised as to actual population. When Mr. Spitzer returned from Bucharest, he brought back census figures provided by the Government which showed about 34,000 to 35,000 Jews divided 50 percent between Bucharest and the outlying areas, very high percentage of those, 52 percent, were over 60, and there is an assumption that many of those would not want to leave.

On the other hand, I think there is a recognition, too, that it is a matter of convenience, that there would be many people in Romania who would not want to associate or admit to being Jewish, that it would be easier not to be, except if they felt there was some loosening of the situation, and that would also relate to the figures we would see in people applying for emigration.

My assumption is, if it were a completely open situation, the figures would rise. On the other hand, we don't believe that every Jew in Romania at this point is looking to emigrate, that many of these people plan to stay.

I think we do have to look at what changes, and we will take your question and try to come up with specific recommendations.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I have no questions.

[The prepared statement and attachment of Mr. Spitzer follow:]

STATEMENT OF MR. JACK J. SPITZER ON BEHALF OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS TO THE SENATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE

JULY 1980

Mr. Chairman:

I am grateful for this opportunity to state the position of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, an umbrella organization made up of 33 constituent bodies.

I am President of B'nai B'rith International, a constituent group within the Conference of Presidents, whose membership numbers a half million men and women in the United States and 41 other countries.

Since Romania won most-favored-nation trade status with the United States five years ago, the volume of U.S.-Romanian trade has grown dramatically and now runs over a billion dollars a year in imports and exports. However, during most of this period, the volume of persons emigrating -- a condition of most-favored-nation status under Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act -- has shown the opposite tendency.

When Congress first granted most-favored-nation status to Romania in mid-1975, it accepted the advice of the State Department to dispense with the formal assurances called for in Section 402 and judge Romania not by its words but by its actual performance. Ironically, that performance worsened once Romania achieved MFN.

Jewish emigration to Israel slid from 3,729 in 1974 -- the last full year before MFN -- to 2,372 in 1975, 1,982 in 1976, 1,347 in 1977, and 1,141 in 1978. During the first six months of 1979, the already meager 1978 rate was cut in half.

Admittedly, part of that decline could be attributed to the shrinking base for emigration. According to a recent census prepared by Romanian Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen, only about 35,000 Jews remain out of a post-war community of more than 400,000, 52 percent of whom are over 60 years of age.

But we were convinced that the decline also had something to do with the government's policy of discouraging emigration through a variety of means. Therefore, though there were other commendable aspects of Romanian policy -- its increasingly independent foreign policy, its efforts to cultivate good relations with the U.S. and other Western countries, its unique position in the Communist bloc as the only country maintaining friendly and productive relations with Israel, its helpful role in bringing Israel and Egypt to the negotiating table, the many religious, cultural and communal freedoms it extends to the Jewish community -- the Conference of Presidents was reluctant to endorse another extension of most-favored-nation last year in view of this steadily deteriorating emigration picture.

However, the Romanian government was willing to consider our suggestions for improving its emigration performance. Last June the Conference of Presidents entered into intensive negotiations with representatives of the Romanian government and reached an agreement --encouraged and endorsed by the U.S. government itself -- which we hoped would result not only in greater numbers of Jews leaving Romania, but also a way of monitoring the applications in process to discourage unreasonable or arbitrary delays in approving them.

The emigration rate quickened after the agreement, and instead of the year ending disasterously -- as it had begun -- the total number for the year was only slightly below what it was in 1978.

This past January, I had the opportunity to visit Romania for an on-site inspection of how the agreement was working. I was accompanied by Alfred Moses, a Vice President of the American Jewish Committee and now a senior advisor to the President of the United States. We were there as representatives of the Conference of Presidents and at the suggestion of Chairman Vanik of the House Trade Subcommittee.

During our two-day stay, we held lengthy discussions with President Ceaucescu, Rabbi Rosen, and the Romanian Minister of Cults. We left Romania with the impression that the agreement was, for the most part, being honored, despite some problems persisting in the emigration procedures.

We are pleased that much of last year's backlog of emigration cases -- including some long-term and particularly difficult ones -- has been resolved. We note too that the vast majority of applicants are now registering with the Romanian Jewish Federation, thus giving Rabbi Rosen -- and ultimately the Conference of Presidents -- a convenient system for identifying problem cases.

What troubles us, however, is that while the number of passports issued this year is substantially ahead of last year, the number of Jews actually leaving Romania is only slightly higher. Bureaucratic delays may account for part of this. So can the fact that some people change their minds about leaving, or defer their departure date until their children finish out the school year or their affairs are properly arranged.

Still, the discrepancies between passports issued and departures have been exceedingly large, compelling us to question the impact of the figures the Romanians are providing on issuance of passports. If the departures for the remainder of 1980 are to reflect the volume of passports issued earlier in the year, we think it is reasonable to expect a doubling of last year's departure rate.

The test of emigration is not how many passports are approved, but how many people who want to leave are actually free to leave. We want to believe that Romania will meet that test in the coming months and that our confidence in Romania's compliance with the spirit and letter of last year's agreement with the Conference of Presidents will remain unshaken.

It is because of our hope that this will indeed be the case, together with the recognition that a general shift in Romania's emigration policy seems to be underway, that we again favor another extension of most-favored-nation status.

However, we cannot too strongly emphasize our intention of carefully following Romanian performance in the coming year -- looking for both a significant rise in the number of departures as well as a further easing of the often cumbersome emigration procedures -- to enable us to arrive at a position for next year. We would be delighted to be able to return here next summer with a less qualified endorsement of a sixth extension of most-favored-nation status for Romania.

Thank you for permitting us to express our views.

# # #

B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL

WASHINGTON--A demographic study of the Jewish population of Romania, scrupulously prepared by Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and the Jewish community, has been released by Jack J. Spitzer, president of B'nai B'rith International, ending a controversy that has raged for years over the size of the Jewish community.

According to the census data, there are only 34,663 Jews remaining in Romania. Prior estimates had been as low as 26,000 and as high as 40,000. The figure contrasts with the approximately 400,000 Jews living there immediately following the Holocaust. The vast proportion of that 400,000 emigrated to Israel, say both Romanian and Israeli sources.

Spitzer and Alfred Moses of the American Jewish Committee were in Romania as representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations at the suggestion of U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik to review with officials there that government's compliance with a 1979 agreement made with the conference on Jewish emigration. The agreement was concluded with the encouragement and approval of the U.S. government. During his two-day stay, Spitzer and Moses conferred with President Nicolae Ceausescu for almost two hours as well as with Romanian Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and the Romanian Minister of Cults.

-more-

As a result of the 1979 accord, the United States granted Most Favored Nation trade status to Romania on a one-year basis. Spitzer, who said if the present compliance continues he would recommend that the Presidents' Conference favor renewal of MFN status for another year, commented that Ceausescu pressed for an unlimited time extension.

Of the current Jewish population, 17,129 -- about half -- reside in Bucharest, the capital. The remainder are scattered in some 69 other communities.

"The figures tell a dramatic story, one that every Jew will look upon with mixed feelings," Spitzer said.

"Although it is reassuring on the one hand to know that several hundred thousand Jews, survivors of the Holocaust, were able to emigrate to Israel, it is also important to realize that the future appears dim indeed for a limited yet viable Jewish community in Romania.

"It is an aging and shrinking community. Almost 52 per cent are over 60 years old. Only 7.4 per cent are 20 or under."

Spitzer pointed out that Bucharest, for centuries the hub of a thriving Jewish culture in Romania, has only 445 Jewish children -- 2.6 per cent -- 10 years old or younger. In contrast, there are 9,441, -- 55 per cent --Jews over 60.

In addition, 14 communities have no one under 20 and four have no one under 40. Another 29 have only a dozen or fewer youngsters and 25 have a dozen or fewer Jews between the ages of 21 and 40.

Of the 70 communities that list Jewish residents, 32 have a combined population of 1,454. Besides Bucharest, only two communities have Jewish populations exceeding 1,000. These figures indicate that outside of the three communities, the Jewish population consists only of tiny remnants.

-more-

The purpose of the census was to learn specifically the location of all Jews in Romania so as to ensure continued compliance with the agreement allowing Jews to go to Israel.

In 1979 Jewish emigration from Romania dropped off alarmingly during the first six months. However, as a result of the agreement last summer between representatives of the Presidents' Conference and the Romanian Government, the figure climbed considerably. By year's end the total number of Jews emigrating had reached 983, just under the 1,140 departing during the year previous.

During his visit, Spitzer and Rabbi Rosen attended Sabbath services at the Bucharest synagogue and dined in the kosher kitchen of what was — before World War II — the B'nai B'rith Building. B'nai B'rith had been a strong force in the Jewish community of Bucharest but was forced to disband during the war and was never revived.

Rosen, Spitzer said, has developed a vibrant, zionist-oriented Jewish Community.

Spitzer reminded the Jewish community at Friday evening services that a century ago, B'nai B'rith, then strictly an American organization, had intervened against barbarities against Jews in Romania. American Jews were asked to act on behalf of the Romanians. At the urging and with the financing of B'nai B'rith, President Grant appointed Benjamin F. Peixotto, a former president of B'nai B'rith, as U.S. consul in Bucharest in an effort to halt the abuses. There for five years, Peixotto succeded in gaining formal recognition of the civil and political rights of Jews in Romania.

** ** ** ** **

ANEXA

populaţiei evreieşti existente la 31.XII.1979 – pe grupe de vârstă –

	total număr	ani 0-5	ani 6-10	ani 11-15	ani 16-20	ani 21-25	ani 26-30	ani 31-35	ani 36-40	ani 41-45	ani 46-50	ani 51-55	ani 56-60	ani 61-65	ani 66-70	ani 71-75	ani 76-80	ani 81-85	ani 86-90	peste 90 ani
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
TOTAL R.S.R.	34.653	580	657	569	668	1.330	1.519	1.173	986	1.253	1.931	2.610	3.293	4.092	5.200	3.989	2.850	1.338	433	–
% din care:	100	1,5	1,9	1,6	2,4	3,9	4,4	3,4	2,9	3,7	5,6	7,5	9,3	11,9	15,0	11,5	8,2	4,6	1,2	
BUCUREŞTI	17.129	171	274	209	411	660	719	393	513	542	959	1.264	1.490	2.021	2.740	2.209	1.33[illegible]	633	274	–
%	100	1,0	1,6	1,2	2,4	3,9	4,2	2,3	3,0	3,4	5,6	7,4	8,7	11,8	16,0	12,9	8,1	3,7	1,6	
PROVINCIE	17.534	397	373	364	413	670	800	786	803	711	930	1.349	1.705	2.071	2.460	1.790	1.294	760	150	20
% din care:	100	2,0	2,1	2,1	2,4	3,7	4,5	4,5	4,6	4,1	5,3	7,6	9,7	11,7	14,1	10,2	7,4	4,3	0,9	
Adjud	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	1	2	4	1	–	–	–	–
Arad	909	13	18	18	24	30	46	36	27	38	53	74	70	113	147	114	97	48	20	–
Aiud	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	–	6	1	–	–	–	–
Alba Iulia	120	6	2	1	2	4	4	6	2	5	–	11	19	17	17	17	22	3	6	–
Bacău	993	25	25	26	23	41	63	43	39	43	60	100	120	91	101	94	67	26	5	–
Baia Mare	349	4	10	6	6	14	21	27	8	10	4	41	53	49	58	27	17	2	1	1
Beiuş	35	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–	1	3	3	9	8	5	1	1	–	–
Bîrlad	171	3	7	6	4	7	12	12	7	7	12	16	12	12	23	15	8	8	–	–
Bistriţa	60	2	2	1	1	4	4	3	3	3	–	3	2	13	11	5	3	2	1	1
Blaj	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	4	1	2	4	1	–	–	–	–
Botoşani	553	6	12	30	80	10	32	24	23	36	44	31	53	72	42	42	30	60	–	–
Brăila	303	3	6	12	10	13	17	8	10	15	20	33	47	52	62	38	20	8	3	–
Braşov	552	13	11	7	6	29	33	12	6	15	29	30	7	54	62	72	47	38	6	–
Buhuşi	84	1	2	1	3	2	4	3	1	3	2	6	4	6	13	13	9	1	–	–
Buzău	119	–	2	5	1	–	–	5	7	12	14	8	12	10	10	12	14	3	–	–
Carei	43	–	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	4	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	2
Caransebeş	25	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Cîmpina	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	2	3	10	7	3	1	1	-	-
Cîmpung.Mold.	82	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	1	5	3	9	3	21	10	13	8	3	1
Cluj-Napoca	941	2	2	1	13	17	26	43	2	4	17	61	85	213	233	139	54	16	-	-
Constanţa	211	8	9	5	10	8	4	6	4	12	14	21	13	16	10	28	21	13	-	-
Craiova	234	-	8	8	1	11	6	13	8	12	10	9	19	19	32	30	22	2	1	1
Dej	103	-	1	-	-	3	4	3	7	8	2	5	16	23	23	5	2	2	1	-
Deva	120	3	2	3	1	9	5	5	3	4	5	11	13	16	15	8	7	8	3	1
Dorohoi	353	12	14	10	29	32	20	13	14	21	26	54	66	49	72	37	43	20	9	2
Făgăraş	51	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	3	1	-	4	5	19	6	-	5	2	-	-
Fălticeni	200	8	5	5	5	5	9	12	9	9	11	17	14	21	24	21	18	6	5	2
Focşani	223	4	6	3	5	7	3	11	7	7	15	19	28	22	25	27	16	11	8	3
Galaţi	757	18	20	20	14	22	26	34	26	30	35	39	84	84	117	72	70	30	12	6
Gherla	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	5	2	-	-	-	-
Gura Humorului	30	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	7	3	6	10	6	7	4	2	-
Haţeg	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	3	3	10	7	3	1	1	-	-
Hîrlău	63	-	-	3	1	7	5	2	-	1	5	16	11	9	8	6	7	2	-	2
Huşi	63	-	1	-	3	3	1	1	1	1	9	7	3	10	12	14	5	8	4	-
Iaşi	1947	80	83	64	78	130	113	90	82	126	160	186	177	185	197	37	90	30	24	-
Lugoj	150	1	-	3	3	3	3	8	1	10	14	22	15	9	12	20	16	9	2	
Mediaş	73	1	-	1	1	-	1	6	1	8	-	4	10	11	17	8	10	3	3	-
Moineşti	40	1	-	3	1	3	1	3	3	2	4	3	4	2	4	2	3	1	-	-

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Odobeşti	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	2	9	7	5	1	1	-	-
Oradea	790	3	3	6	9	13	29	26	6	10	9	33	73	124	108	166	90	61	21	-
Orăştie	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	3	2	2	3	1	1	-	-	-
• Paşcani	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
Petroşani	76	1	1	-	1	3	4	4	3	6	7	3	6	10	8	7	5	5	-	-
Piatra Neamţ	332	18	19	14	10	17	42	33	19	34	28	38	33	32	60	48	32	27	-	-
• Piteşti	116	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	6	20	9	11	13	23	16	9	-	-	-
Ploieşti	335	5	7	6	9	14	15	12	10	13	20	27	33	62	55	42	30	14	3	-
Rădăuţi	235	4	5	2	6	11	11	6	2	3	7	22	24	41	28	28	12	20	3	-
Reghin	43	-	1	1	-	2	2	3	1	-	1	3	3	11	6	7	1	1	-	-
• Reşiţa	132	2	3	2	3	3	6	3	4	5	7	10	12	16	20	13	11	5	1	-
Roman	243	6	6	8	13	14	13	15	5	10	16	12	26	28	24	16	14	13	-	-
Rm.Sărat	38	-	-	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	3	6	5	8	2	1	-	-	-
• Satu Mare	320	5	6	5	8	12	14	11	9	12	18	24	29	38	60	37	27	13	6	-
Săveni	40	-	-	-	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	4	6	5	8	2	1	-	-	-
Sibiu	145	2	3	2	3	6	6	5	4	5	8	11	13	17	22	18	12	6	2	-
Sighet	186	3	7	3	2	10	10	9	10	9	12	13	12	28	27	28	1	-	-	-
• Sighişoara	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	4	1	2	4	1	-	-	-	-
• Siret	45	-	-	-	2	2	4	1	2	2	3	5	7	6	8	2	1	-	-	-
Suceava	423	22	13	10	7	13	29	30	15	22	24	32	40	32	53	31	27	13	6	2

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1o	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Tecuci	127	6	8	4	2	7	7	12	5	5	4	8	12	13	14	15	5	2	2	-
Timişoara	1907	25	22	4o	33	57	99	116	57	91	92	98	163	151	275	266	233	2o7	-	-
Tg.Mureş	472	13	14	8	8	20	24	26	5	8	23	29	54	53	8o	54	34	6	4	1
Tg.Neamţ	114	6	-	1	5	4	6	2	2	2	4	14	17	13	12	1o	8	8	-	-
Tg.Ocna	26	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	6	2	9	2	1	-	-	-
Tîrnăveni	49	-	-	2	2	2	4	2	1	3	2	6	8	7	8	1	1	-	-	-
Tulcea	113	3	2	2	-	-	13	4	-	4	3	5	19	2o	4	21	2	1	-	-
Turda	74	-	-	1	2	2	9	2	1	3	-	11	2o	7	7	4	3	1	1	-
Tr.Severin	5o	-	-	2	2	3	3	2	1	3	3	5	8	8	7	2	1	-	-	-
Vaslui	11o	4	3	3	1	3	5	6	9	4	5	8	14	17	13	9	4	2	-	-
Vatra Dornei	93	-	2	-	-	2	2	3	-	3	3	5	11	13	8o	15	4	8	2	-

Senator **Ribicoff.** Mr. Niculescu, accompanied by Mr. Thad Lempicki.

STATEMENT OF BARBU NICULESCU, CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION, ACCOMPANIED BY THAD LEMPICKI, VICE CHAIRMAN

Mr. **Niculescu.** Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee, we are grateful and pleased for this opportunity to testify and join in support of the President's recommendations to again extend most-favored-nation status to Romania.

I am Mr. Barbu Niculescu, president and chairman of the foundation, and Mr. Thad Lempicki is cochairman and vice president. Our offices are located at 6 East 80th Street, New York City. Our membership consists of Americans from nearly all ethnic backgrounds who are active in the fields of science, education, business, history, and the arts.

Financing of our activities is provided from our personal funds. There are no salaried officers in our organization. Everything we do is on a voluntary basis.

The common bond we share in this foundation is our sincere desire to help America to expand and strengthen its position in international affairs, and especially its position in Eastern Europe. We also highly admire Romania's sovereign and independent stand in Eastern Europe, as well as both America's and Romania's efforts to assure sovereignty and independence for all nations.

We also admire both America's and Romania's efforts in helping to maintain peace for all nations, worldwide improvements in health, economics, and overall improvement of mankind's standard of living. We recognize many other similarities in America's and Romania's worldwide efforts and objectives, all of which benefit mankind.

We clearly support the President's position for extending most-favored-nation trade status for Romania, as we also recognize the many benefits realized during past years, since most-favored-nation trade status was first granted to Romania.

With a continued most-favored-nation status, these valuable benefits will continue to accrue, expand, and contribute to the well-being of not only Americans and Romanians, but also of the rest of the world.

Most-favored-nation trade status has proven of significant value in international relations, and America has been very able and very wise in adopting this kind of foreign policy. It has not only served to open and broaden trade, but it has also served to make opportunities available to establish ongoing dialog on other items of mutual interest.

If we can do that with Russia, and if we can have them as friends, then there is no chance for a war. But I don't believe we can.

Having established an open dialog on trade and economic matters enables both countries to broach and have very candid discussions on subjects such as emigration, security, human rights issues, and numerous other very sensitive matters.

We would also at this time properly recognize that American Government officials who are fully informed on these matters all mutually agree that Romania's part in these candid discussions have been sincere and demonstrated a willingness to cooperate and work out differences on problems.

When we think what the situation was when this most-favored-nation was granted and today, the difference is considerable. Improvements in behavior of the Romanian Government has improved to such a degree that according to American standards it is amazing. We maintain that it is in our best interests to maintain and continue to develop further the relationship which we have with Romania. Steady gains and benefits to both nations continue to materialize in these exchanges which are taking place.

We must recognized that most-favored-nation status is a major factor contributing to Romania's ability to maintain a strong and independent economy. Having a strong and independent economy enables Romania to establish and follow a relatively independent foreign policy. I say relatively because it is very difficult to claim that there is such a thing like a complete sovereignty when your border is only one yard away from the Soviet border.

Having a strong and independent economy enables Romania to establish and follow a relatively independent foreign policy. Romania's independent foreign policy is very well known and respected throughout the world, and has resulted in Romania's being invited to participate in various peace efforts such as Egypt-Israel peace and other situations worldwide.

In addition, we must also properly recognize that trade with Romania has many benefits to America itself. It not only means jobs for Americans producing items for export, but also means continued employment of Americans in American industries dependent upon imports of critical raw materials and commodities that Romania can provide to American industry.

Our Secretary Kreps has in past years and again recently commented upon the significant increases in trade each year under most-favored-nation status and the expectation that total trade will reach about the $1 billion level either this year or at the latest next year.

It has also been properly noted that America has enjoyed a significant continued favorable balance of payments during all this time. It has been said that total trade in 1979 will be approximately $830 million, with America enjoying a favorable balance of payments of approximately $175 million. When the $1 billion level is reached and passed, it is expected that America will still continue to enjoy a very major favorable balance of payments position.

In conclusion, we believe that Romania's overall performance clearly justifies appropriate action to permit extension of most-favored-nation trade status for Romania. Having most-favored-nation status extended and continued in place is important not only for trade and other contacts with Romania but is a public testimony to all nations that America is sincere in establishing and continuing good long-term relations with all nations.

We serve our own and the best interests of all mankind when we stand by those we choose to be our friends and who also support many of the ideals and objectives we advocate.

Romania by its fierce desire and stand for independence, peace, tente, and other items has clearly identified its desires for many the same items America also desires.

We join our President in recognizing these advantages and recmmending extension of most-favored-nation trade status for Roania.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much.

Do you have any questions, Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. No, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Niculescu follows:]

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC.
8 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021
TEL. (212) [illegible]

TRONS

DR. G. PALADE
Nobel Laureate
PROF. C. M. CARLTON
HON. F. DORN
DR. A. HAMMER
MR. T. HOOD
PROF. M. JACKSON
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Vice Chairman & Sec.
MR. C. MALAXA
Vice President

STATEMENT BY MR. BARBU NICULESCU REPRESENTING
THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE,

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,

UNITED STATES SENATE

REGARDING

CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF
TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

July 21, 1980

AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC.
6 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
TEL. (212) [illegible]

July 21, 1980

STATEMENT OF MR. S. NICULESCU, PRESIDENT AND MR. T. LEMPICKI, VICE PRESIDENT REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Hearing Before The Subcommittee On International Trade, Committee On Finance, United States Senate

REGARDING

Continuing Most-Favored Nation Tariff Treatment
Of Imports From Romania

SUMMARY STATEMENT:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this Committee. We are grateful and pleased for this opportunity to testify and join in support of the President's recommendation to again extend MFN Trade Status to Romania.

I am Mr. Serbu Niculescu, President and this is Mr. Thad Lempicki, Vice President of our Foundation. Our offices are located at 6 East 80th Street, New York, N.Y. Our membership consists of Americans from nearly all ethnic backgrounds who are active in the fields of science, education, business, history and the arts. Financing of our activities is provided from our personal funds. There are no salaried officers in our organization as everything we do is on a voluntary basis.

The common bond we share in the Foundation is our sincere desire to help America to expand and strengthen its position in international affairs and especially its position in Eastern Europe. We also highly admire Romania's sovereign and independent stand in Eastern Europe as well as both America's and Romania's efforts to assure sovereignty and independence for all nations. We also admire both America's and Romania's efforts in helping to maintain peace in and for all nations, worldwide improvements in health, economics and the overall improvement of mankind's standard of living. We recognize many other similarities in America's and Romania's worldwide efforts and objectives, all of which benefit mankind.

We clearly support the President's position for extending MFN trade status for Romania as we also recognize the many benefits realized during past years since MFN was first granted to Romania. With a continued MFN status, these valuable benefits will continue to accrue, expand and contribute to the well-being of not only Americans and Romanians but also ~~that of all mankind~~. of the rest of the world.

MFN trade status has proven its significant value in international relations and ① has not only served to open and broaden trade but has also served to make opportunities available to establish on-going dialogue on other items of mutual interest. Having established an open dialogue on trade and economic matters enables both countries to broach and have very candid discussions on subjects such as emmigration, security, human rights issues and numerous other very sensitive matters. We should also at this time properly recognize that American government officials who are fully informed on these matters all mutually agree that Romania's part in these candid discussions have been sincere and demonstrated a willingness to cooperate and work out differences and problems. We maintain that it is in our best interests to maintain and continue to develop further the relationship we have with Romania. Steady gains and benefits to both nations continue to materialize as these exchanges take place.

We must recognize that MFN is a major factor contributing to Romania's ability to maintain a strong and independent economy. Having a strong and independent economy enables Romania to establish and follow a relatively independent foreign policy. Romania's independent foreign policy is very-well known and respected throughout the world and has resulted in Romania being invited to participate in various peace efforts such as the Egypt-Israel peace and other situations worldwide.

In addition, we must also properly recognize that trade with Romania has many benefits to America itself. It not only means jobs for Americans producing items for export but also means continued employment in industries dependent upon imports of critical raw materials and commodities that Romania can provide to American industry. Our Secretary Kreps has in past years and again recently commented upon the significant increases in trade each year under MFN and the expectation that total trade will reach the 1 billion dollar level either this year or at the latest, next year. It has also been properly noted that America has enjoyed a significant favorable balance of payments and that American commodities sold usually represent areas having surplus conditions. It has been said that total trade in 1979 will be approximately $830 million with America enjoying a favorable balance of payments of approximately $175 million. When the 1 billion dollar level is reached and passed, it is expected that America will still continue to enjoy a very major favorable balance of payments position.

In conclusion, we believe that Romania's overall performance clearly justifies appropriate action to permit extension of MFN trade status for Romania. Having MFN extended and continued in place is important not only for trade and other contacts with Romania but also as public testimony to all nations that America is sincere in establishing and continuing good long term relations with all nations. We serve our own and the best interests of all mankind when we stand by those who choose to be our friends and support many of the ideals and objectives we advocate. Romania by its fierce desire and stand for independence, peace, detente and other items has clearly identified its desires for many of the same items America also desires. We join our President in recognizing these advantages and in recommending extension of MFN trade status for Romania.

Thank you Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee.

STATEMENT:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee.

We are pleased and very grateful for the opportunity to present our recommendations and also to join with the President in his recommendation that appropriate action be taken to further extend Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status for Romania.

We clearly support the President's recommendation for extending MFN for Romania as we also recognize the many benefits realized during past years since MFN was first granted to Romania. We also recognize that the future holds even greater benefits not only for America and Romania but also for all mankind. Not granting an extension of MFN trade status is really an action that is unthinkable, would severely endanger and setback Romania's years long drive for independence and would also severely damage America's image worldwide. Romania has earned MFN trade status by its performance to all terms of the many agreements signed by America and Romania and also by Romania's tireless efforts in behalf of peace, detente, etc..

Some of the many major items in support of extending MFN trade status for Romania are briefly highlighted in the following discussion:

1. We must recognize the primary purpose of MFN which is trade. It has been clearly identified and supported by various departments of our government that MFN has resulted in significant increases in trade and establishment of good relations between America and Romania. With the exception of last year which may have been a break-even year, the trade balance of payments has been significantly in America's favor.

It has also been pointed out that our Secretary Kreps expects total trade volume to reach the 1 billion dollar level either in 1980 or at the latest, 1981. The balance of payments at this level will also be significant and in America's favor.

Another key item is that exports by America have been in areas suffering persistent surpluses and that imports from Romania have been primarily in areas where America has persistent shortages (petroleum products). The overall end result is that exports created jobs and that imports created jobs by providing critical commodities needed by America's industries.

Other considerations that must be properly recognized is the fact that to our knowledge there have not been any disputes between American and Romanian businessmen that have not been settled quickly, fairly and in a good businesslike manner. We know of no patent or license infringements by any Romanian businessmen.

In the critical area of "dumping" on the American market, Romania has respected its commitments to America in this area. There have been to our knowledge no instances of "dumping" by Romania. There were two claims that we heard about during past years but these were dropped as soon as our government's representatives started to investigate these so-called dumping actions.

The stability of the Romanian economy and government has proven to be an attractive element in doing business by American businessmen. The Romanian government appears to be receptive to modifications to its business laws in order that they are more compatible with American laws and it becomes much easier for both to do business with each other.

In summary, there is considerable benefit in trade to both America and Romania. This has been realized in the past and will continue to grow in the future without interruption. However, both America and Romania will suffer greatly if MFN is not extended and the channels to trade are cut off. To do so would be unthinkable and not justifiable.

Other benefits of trade follow. These are the results of dialogue initially established in the trade area and then taking its natural course and expanding into other vital areas.

2. MFN as intended did serve to encourage Romania to become more active in the rest of the world. By trading with non-Eastern European countries Romania was able to strengthen her economy as well as develop an independent economy. At present, it is believed that approximately but no less than 70% of Romania's trade is carried out with non-Eastern European nations.

The obvious beneficial effect is that such trade opened the doors and exposed Romania to a much better understanding of American and other independent nations' views, principles and practices. Many of these were most likely studied and to some degree were incorporated into Romania's way of life and thinking.

Establishing exchange of goods requires dialogue which quickly spreads to the trading partners other areas of activity. This then leads to discussions and exchanges in various non-trade areas. Testimony by both government and private American representatives identifies the condition whereby it is possible to expand discussions to include even the most sensitive subjects. These discussions of sensitive subjects are held in all seriousness and there is ample testimony that Romania is sincere in its discussions and is willing to candidly discuss change.

This is a very significant step forward with obvious benefits in the future.

By encouraging Romania to develop a more independent economy through trade and to greater exposure to world events, we can take some small amount of credit for Romania's strong stand worldwide for sovereignty, independence of nations, disarmament, peace talks in place of battles to settle differences, relief of hunger and other subjects of great importance to all mankind. Romania as evidenced by its roll in Mid-East peace talks and its role in settling other disputes world-wide has established a reputation for wisdom and fairness in its counsel and as a result enjoys a position of trust and faith as all parties recognize that Romania is not participating merely to determine what it can gain for itself.

Further testimony to benefits we realize from Romania's independent economy as well as foreign policy is available in the records of the United Nations where Romania is a leading voice and hard worker for detente, disarmament, peace, relief of hunger, etc..

3. We have made our best efforts to stay informed about the very sensitive subject of emigration from Romania. On this subject we agree that while Romania does not encourage emigration because it is a developing nation that cannot afford a major "brain drain", Romania has permitted emigration for purposes of reunification of families as it agreed when signing the Helsinki Accords. American government officials in prior hearings held by this committee have testified to Romania's cooperation in these types of cases and to progress being made in all aspects of this subject.

While not encouraging emigration for various reasons, Romania has permitted emigration to take place. It is recognised that securing visas is a time consuming bureaucratic process but the overall fact is that such visas are available to those that will have the patience and determination to follow their system. As stated by our own representatives, simplification is being encouraged but it must be recognised that this is an internal affair.

On the subject of emigration of Jewish Romanians to Israel, this does not appear to be the problem it seems to be when brought up annually for these hearings. All agree that the population of Jewish Romanians is small, majority are old and very few appear to want to emigrate to Israel. What no one has been able to determine is what is an acceptable level of emigration or quota for this group. If it were possible to establish what is considered acceptable and there were not enough emigrating to meet this pre-established level, how is Romania to react in order to not be in violation. Overall we honestly recognize that this does not appear to be a subject that is a major problem as it is not being identified as such by Israel itself. Israel's government has excellent relations with Romania and we are confident that if a problem did exist, the Israeli government would make it known world-wide.

4. We have in the past and still today take the position that we cannot accept as true fact the various claims being made regarding cultural genocide being practiced by the Romanian government against Romanian citizens having a minority ethnic background.

This is a serious claim we have monitored over the years. We ourselves during our visits to Romania were not able to identify any such practices. In addition, our members and friends traveling in Romania have not reported observing any such actions by the Romanian government. Our monitoring also includes activities at the United Nations where such actions are publicly exposed and we have yet to find Romania the subject of such UN activities and actions.

We feel that the Romanian government's financial support of institutions that teach in minority languages, libraries and sales of publications in minority languages and other similar actions testify to acceptance of minorities and not the contrary.

We are as concerned as the American government is about these claims and will continue to monitor this very sensitive subject. We want the American people as well as all of our members to be confident that our position and understanding is correct. We have no doubts concerning our impressions on this subject and if possible, we will visit Romania in the very near future and will include this subject in our objectives. While we do not believe that a problem such as this exists as claimed, we will be objective in our fact finding and will report the results upon our return.

SUMMARY:

In closing this discussion, we sincerely recommend extension of MFN trade status for Romania. Granting such status will continue to generate benefits not only for America and Romania but for all mankind. As America looks to Romania for cooperation and support, Romania must also look to America for the same. Extending MFN is one of America's ways in supporting friendly independent nations who share many of America's principles and desires for peace, etc..

To

The International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate
Finance Committee

Included you will find the Report, with the plea to consider it as the Statement of the Romanian Christian Committee „The Defense for Religious Liberty and Conscience"(ALRC).

The conclusion of our Report is that Romania should have the most favorite nation clause prolonged, only for 1 year, with the following conditions:

(1)The respect of the basic human rights, rights known in conventions and treaties ratified by Romania;

(2)The eliberation of all those detained in prisons and psychiatric hospitals on account of freedom of conscience;

(3)The cessation of all religious persecution.

The activity of the ALRC Committee is known by the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe,
Amnesty International,
Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism, Keston College London,
Jesus to the Communist World
Christian Solidarity International.

Rev.Pavel Nicolescu
The Spokesman for the Romanian
Christian Committee
„The Defense for Religious
Liberty and Conscience" (ALRC)

New York
July 26,1980

[redacted]

Statement

of

THE ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE

"THE DEFENSE FOR RELIGIOUS

LIBERTY AND CONSCIENCE"

(ALRC)

THE POLITICAL REGIME OF ROMANIA INTENSIFIES ITS TERROR AND PERSECUTION AGAINST BELIEVERS, AGAINST MILITANTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND AGAINST THOSE SEEKING TO IMMIGRATE

" A REPORT "

By Rev.Aurel Popescu
Rev.Pavel Nicolescu
Miss Genoveva Sfatcu

[redacted]

THE ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE -
"THE DEFENSE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
AND CONSCIENCE"
(ALRC)

While the political regime from Bucharest awaits the continuation of the most favorite nation clause by the USA government, 10 prisoners of conscience are in the Romanian prisons, and the persecution continues against believers, against those who are militant for the human rights, and against those who seek to immigrate.

In order to deceive the public opinion in the West in regards to the religious persecution in Romania and to influence well known personalities from the United States so that these will influence the continuation of the clause, emissaries from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Department of Cults of Romania, under the masque of servants of the Gospel, visit the United States, England and Thailand - such being the case with the Romanian Baptist pastor [redacted] Iosif Ton.

An important hierarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church in an open way collaborates with the atheistic government in the fight against the Neo-Protestant believers. The West German newspaper "Frankfurter Allgemeine" in January 15, 1980, registers the question addressed by a journalist to Teoctist, the Metropolitan of Moldova, if the anti-religious declarations made by Mr. Ceausescu at the XIIth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party are not constituting an insult for the Romanian Orthodox church and its believers. "Not at all," was the prompt response of the herarch, "this stand is only against those non-serious sects, such as Baptists, Pentecostals, and others who are moving all over and against such we are fighting also."

Any comment in regards to the cynical declarations of the high orthodox hierach are of substance, but they show how low a pretending servant of God can fall in a totalitarian state.

A REPRESSION WAVE IN ROMANIA:

1. Two churches closed and devastated by the officials from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.
2. A Pentecostal church sealed.
3. The officials of the Internal Ministry and other state functionaries disturb the worship service in a Pentecostal church.
4. The 600 believers of a Baptist church in Bucharest are afraid that their place of worship will be demolished, under the pretext of the city's renovation and systematisation.
5. The Orthodox martyr-priest, Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa is in danger of death.
6. Priests and monks within the Orthodox Church under strict supervision of police and security officers.
7. Neo-Protestant believers, fined with great sums of money for their

faith in God.

8. Pentecostals and Adventists thrown in jail because they have asked to immigrate.

9. A Pentecostal preacher maltreated in the street, in the city of Medias, by the police officers and security, while hundreds of stunned people stood by watching.

10. A young Baptist girl condemned to five months in prison under the false accusation of practicising prostitution with foreign tourists. The real motive of the condemnation: she sought to immigrate.

11. An unsuccessful attempt by two Pentecostals to cross the border.

12. The events of February 1980.

13. Who did profane the church of Father Bistriceanu?

14. Adventists thrown in prison for a religious samizdat.

15. 10 prisoners of conscience in Romania.

1. Two churches closed and devastated by the officials of the Ministry for Internal Affairs: Arad-Bujac and Motru, the region of Gorj.

On April 1, 1980, as a follow-up upon a decision taken by the Department of Cults, two churches have been hit mercilessly by the officials of the Ministry for Internal Affairs. Thus, the main doors of the Baptist churches in Arad Bujac and Motrui, the region of Gorj, have been sealed, marking thus the firm decision of the Romanian authorities to disband the two houses of prayer and to stop the believers from gathering for prayer.

The Baptists from Arad have not become intimidated, and have broken the seal from the door of the church. In the afternoon of April 21, 1980, in the front of the Baptist Church from Arad-Bujac numerous trucks arrived accompanied with security officers, police officers and workers, who entered the church and started to carry out the furniture. After a short while, many believers started to come, watching in pain how the place where they have worshipped God was being devastated, the place for which they have paid over 1,500,000 lei.

At the destruction of the Baptist Church in Arad-Bujac there was no representative of Baptist Union from Romania nor from the Baptist Community of Arad. The destroyers confiscated the objects from inside the church: the pulpit, the organ, paintings, chairs, musical instruments and even the boards from the balcony floor. Likewise, they have confiscated boards and many other construction materials that were found in the annexed rooms of the church. The windows and the doors have been pulled out from the walls. All the mentioned objects and the materials were loaded in trucks and taken to another destination.

One of the police officers affirmed publicly that this action was intended as a lesson for all the Baptist and Pentecostal churches in Romania, which are under the same situation, built without the authorit, of the state.

We mention that in a discourse given over radio and TV the president Nicolae Ceausescu announced that all the buildings built without the state permission will be destroyed or they will become the property of the state. The Neo-Protestant believers are fearful because this measure can affect many of their churches, because many were built without the official authorization of the state.

It is known that in Romania because of the Department of Cults refusal to approve the organization of new churches (a few years ago, the former Prime Minister of Communist Romania, Ioan Gheorghe Maurer declared:"Our state builds factories not churches.") and because of the Neo-Protestant leaders are cowardly and do not defend with firmness the interests of believers, tens of churches are in similar situations with the churches of Arad-Bujac and Motru (without authorization to function as a church) and the number of these cases are continually growing.

This being the situation, we can expect in the future, a new wave of persecution on a national scale, a persecution without precedent in which thousands of Neo-Protestant believers can expect their churches to be demolished, the objects used in worship confiscated and the buildings destroyed or nationalised (taken by the state as its property). Another police officer spoke to the Baptist believers with these words: "Go to America, there is your place!"

From the 21st of April 1980 until today, many members of Arad-Bujac church and especially the young people, continue to gather every evening for prayer in the basement of the church. They are seeking God's mercy and they hope that their brothers of faith from the whole world will not leave them alone.

The Baptist believers from the city of Motru, region of Gorj, after the date of April 1, 1980, a date on which the door of their church has been sealed, have continued to gather together in the backyard of the church, where in cold and rain they continued to hold their religious services.

On April 24, 1980 Zaharia Ploscariu and Gheorghe Milu, both from the leadership of the Baptist Church in Motru, were taken away from their places of work by the police officials and after they have passed by the City Hall, they were taken in a mini-bus to the building of the Baptist Church. There, the following officials from the city of Motru were present:

The commanding officer of police from the city of Motru,
The security lieutenant Morega.
The police sergeant
Workers from the Popular Counsel and from the Cooperation of Consumption of Motru.

The present officials have proceceded to evacuate the objects from the house of prayer, bringing in the yard: the pulpit, a harmonium, paintings and stoves. The door has then been closed with a padlock. The

The two Baptists leaders have been asked that in a period of 24 hours they should transport all of these items away. After the destructive work in the church, the official representatives of the city of Motru entered into other rooms belonging to the church, forcing first a window and then opening the door from the inside because the door handle has been broken. They have taken all the things that they have found inside which they have confiscated, and made a verbal process, written in the absence of the proprietor, Haralambie Ploscaru, Jr.

In the following days, tables, chairs, cupboards and offices have been installed in the church of Motru. The cross from the top of the church has been struck down and the writing "The House of Prayer for the Christian Baptist Church of Motru-Plostina" has likewise been struck down and replaced with a new insignia: "Consumption Cooperation - Motru, The Region of Gorj.

The question is asked: Why have the authorities disbanded these two Baptist churches (we will see later a similar situation with the Pentecostal Church Philadelphia from Medias)? Because these churches have constituted a symbol of the fight for religious liberty: they were capable to develop their religious activities without given authority and to have pastors who were not approved by the Department of Cults.

This is what has happened with the two churches. After many appeals to obtain the official approval, appeals which have not received any answers, they have decided to function on their own, something which could have been accomplished until the date of April 1, 1980.

2. A Pentecostal church sealed.

On the day of May 7, 1980 Colonel Toma from the security of Sibiu, the military procurator Bleahu and another officer had a discussion of thirty minutes with the Commanding Officer Dumitru from Medias to whom they have outlined the necessity to resolve the case of Samu in a limited term of seven days, otherwise, the comrades from the "Internal Affairs" have promised that we would suffer unpleasant consequences.

(Probably the three have asked from the Commanding Officer Dumitru to urge the immigration of the pastor Joan Samu and his family.)

On May 10, 1980 those three accompanied by the representatives of state from the city of Medias have sealed the church Philadelphia, without the pastor being present. The brave officials of state and other state functionaries have avoided an encounter with the Pastor Joan Samu, but have told the children of Samu, children that had so much to suffer from the police and the security of Medias, that if their father will break the seal, he will be imprisoned agair.

Thus, beside two Baptist Churches from Arad-Bujac and Motru-Gorj, another church has been closed: the Pentecostal Church Philadelphia from Medias.

3. Officers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other state functionaries distrub the religious service in a Pentecostal Church.

On April 3, 1980, the Commanding Security Officer, the secretary of the party and another director have disturbed the religious service of the Pentecostal Church in Cimpulung Moldovenesc. the church which is being led by Costica Bidinel. The three have forbidden the believers to gather again for religious services in their worship place,

C. MOLDOVENESC

and applied to the believers who were present fines which totaled 10,000 lei.

4. The 600 believers from a church in Bucharest fear that their place of worship could be demolished under the pretext of the Capital's Systematization.

The Romanian Baptist quarterly "The Christian" from the USA has published in the July-August-September 1979, by the editor George Crisan, an article which heightens the danger that the Baptist Church The Holy Trinity from 107 Mihai Bravu, Bucharest can be demolished. Here is an excerpt from the article:

> During the visit of the editor in Romania, the brothers from the Church Committee of The Holy Trinity invited him to see their church. The church serves more than 600 people, all of them from the neighborhood of the church. A systematization plan for the city of Bucharest was made 16 years ago. The brothers have asked that another place should be given to them under these circumstances. They have received the answer that at the right time, when systematization works will be finished, they will receive another place or another building.

Now, the systematization works have reached the neighborhood of the church. The brothers from the church leadership as the brothers from the leadership of the union, have addressed themselves on numerous occasion to the authorities that have the jurisdiction over these affairs, but until now they have not received an answer. The members of the church are very much concerned of this alarming situation. We publish here two fragments from two messages, signed by Vasile Talos, the pastor of the church and by engineer Petru Murariu, in the name of the believers from the church and addressed to Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu:

The place of worship which belongs to our church will be subjected to a total reconstruction, something that has been confirmed by the CPMB in numerous occasions (The Popular Council of the Municipality of Bucharest). Knowing this, the church made numerous appeals to obtain another place for the church, starting in 1962. The church addressed itself (also for the resolution of this problem) in July of 1974 to the State Council through a memorandum signed at a general gathering by all the members of the church."

In spite of all our undertaken appeals..our pleas have not been resolved. At this time, the works for the widening of the highway Mihai Bravu have come very close to our place of worship and inevitably they will affect the whole building. Likewise, we have found that in the project of systematization for our zone, the house for prayer has no longer been included" (The letter of Nov. 27, 1979).

We the Christian Church, The Holy Trinity from Bucharest, 106 Mihai Bravu bring to your attention that our place of worship will be subjected to destruction because of the enlargement of the highway Mihai Bravu. From the Pupular Council of the Municipality of Bucharest, we have found that the reason for the delay in constructing a new place for worship is constituted by the lack of construction materials. We want to inform you that the European Baptist Federation, knowing of our situation has promised us currency for the new building, so that the construction materials will be bought in foreign currency.

"The delay in bringing a solution to this problem produces unrest among the 600 members of the church and other 200 people that belong to the church." We mention that the actual sanctuary was started in an old building, which after the earthquake has received numerous cracks in the walls. The precarious situation of the building gets worse constantly because of the traffic trepidations produced on the Mihai Bravu Highway and the building presents less and less a guarantee for the lives of the believers. (Telegram from Feb. 1980).

During the 18 years, from 1962-1980, the Baptist Church from Mihai Bravu has made more than 100 appeals - memoranda and audiences, so that it will receive approval to build another place for worship, but until now all have been without any results.

In the meantime, the Department of Cults spreads numerous rumors to create confusion and unrest among the believers saying that the church will be disbanded, and the members dispersed. to other churches in Bucharest.

Iulian Sorin, the Department of Cults inspector, with cynicism that is characteristic of him declared: "The church will be built, when Mr. Talos will no longer be a pastor."

3. The Orthodox Martyr -priest Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa in danger of dying.

Arrested on May 10, 1979 and condemned to 10 years of imprisonment, after he has completed 16 years of imprisonment, as a political prisoner in the hell of the Romanian communist prisons. At the present time, Father Cacliu has become the symbol of the struggle for religious liberty in Romania.

Here are the latest news in regard to the situation of Father Calciu: On the 5th of May 1980, he was visited by his wife, Adriana, at the penitentiary from Aiud. The condition of his health is very poor. He has lost weight. Being subjected to an extermination diet, he is kept in a severe isolation in a dark cell in the basement of the Aiud penitentiary.

During the winter of 1979-1980, the cell of Father Calciu has not been heated. His bed is a simple peace of wood, on which he has to sleep without a mattress. In the night time he covers himself with a single blanket. In the day time, the bed is lifted by the wall, and left down only in the night time.

For ten days during the celebration of Christmas, Father Calciu did not receive any food, and for ten days he did not receive any food during the Easter Holiday.

Under different pretexts, the priest Calciu is being constantly questioned. Since he has lost lots of weight and is exhausted, he can no longer work.

Even though he is in this situation of total weakening and exhaustion, the leadership of the Aiud penitentiary have asked Father Calciu to go to work. Knowing the consequences of this proposal and the intentions of the Aiud leadership of the penitentiary, Father Calciu refused to go to work. At work, there can be accidents and accusations of attempting to run away and getting shot. Father Calciu had had this experience already for 16 years, he heard and understood that they have planned his assassination through a false accusation, and thus he refused to go to work.

6. Priests and monks from the Romanian Orthodox Church under the strict supervision of the police and security officers.

Petru Para, a monk and a preacher belonging to the movement "The Army of the Lord." He lives in Scinteia, the village of Lunca Rafes, in the region of Iasi. Starting with 1980, authorities do not permit him to leave his village, without first announcing the police.

Nil Dorobant, A priest and a monk from the Tismana Monastery, the region of Ilfov, well known for his activity as a preacher. Many times has been arrested and beaten by the police and security officers. Two years ago, Father Nil Dorobant disappeared and the opinion of many was that he was arrested. Recently about 4-5 months ago, Father Nil has been found dead by a group of men in a cave. Those who have found him, have declared that they have searched for him before in this cave, but they have not found him. All that have found him, believe that Father Nil has been brought dead in this cave (by the officials of the security after they have tortured him) and have left (abandoned) him there. The case of Father Nil has been related by people that have known him.

Gherasim Dateraga - a monk from the village of Cut, Dumbrava Rosie, the region of Piatra Neamt. Because he has preached to the funeral of an Orthodox believer, he has been beaten numerous times. He was informed that he is under obligation to announce the police whenever he decides to leave and to declare for what place he is leaving.

Elefterie - the other name is not known, a priest and a monk at the Agapia Monastery. After a house search, his religious books have been retained by the security officers. He is subjected to an isolation process and even though he is 70 years old, he is not allowed to have visitors.

Cleopa. Here is how Miss Genoveva Sfatcu, presently living in the USA, former director of the children's choir from Iasi, relates her visit with Father Cleopa.

"In 1976 I have taken a trip to the Sihastrie Monastery, from the region of Piatra Neamt, so that I could meet Father Cleopa. I have heard about him and I have read his work entitled "The Work of the Holy Spirit," a publication which I've enjoyed.

After I arrived at the monastery, I have asked a monk where I could find Father Cleopa. The monk has answered me in a mysterious and discreet tone, that Father Cleopa is not allowed to preach, and even to come into church because of his pupularity (too many people come to listen to him.) The monk has shown me that beyond the forest there is a path that leads to the residence of Father Cleopa. About 1 km distance from the monastery I have found his residence - a house with two rooms. After I have entered,

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the priest Cleopa has told me that he knows who I am, and instructed me to wait. I have thought that some security officer has informed him about my presence at the monastery. The Priest Cleopa is a man in his fifties, tall, handsome, and with an appearance of an intellectual. He spoke to those present in his house about the power of the cross. I have told him that I wanted to speak with him personally, as in a confession, and thus he invited me for the second day.

After I have left the house of Father Cleopa, I was stopped by an agent of the security who has questioned me and asked for my identification documents, and whom I have asked for his documents. He introduced himself as Ioan Nedelcu (?). Ioan Nedelcu has warned me to leave immediately for Iasi, on the first available bus, or in a contrary case (if I will not leave the Monastery) to go with him. I have left immediately for Iasi.

I want to mention that in the first day when I have arrived at the Monastery, where I have stayed for the night, in the evening a monk came to me and has asked me for my I.D. With his head bowed down, the monk has told me that my identification papers have been asked by the police, because the police is looking for a thief who looks like me.... During the second day, the same monk has given back my identification papers and whispered to me: The Security!

Even though there have been more than ten people who came as tourists, I was the only one who has been searched and asked to give my identification papers.

7. Neo-Protestant believers questioned and fined with large sums of money for their faith in God.

Modest Moldan-Pentecostal from Gura Salcia, the region of Suceava. He is the leader of the Pentecostal church. Called often to the police and questioned. He was forbidden to receive in his house believers from other places. He was also fined with 5000 lei.

Eusebiu Probeagu - Pentecostal from the locality of Danila, region of Suceava. He was forbidden by the police to visit any longer the church in Gura Salcie. He was fined with 500 lei. After many audiences at the party and security, he decided to immigrate. After this decision, the fine has been annuled.

A group of Pentecostal believers from the locality of Darmanesti, the region of Suceava, have gone to visit a paralised believer. The 11 people from the group have been insulted by the mayor of the town and the police officers and fined with various sums betweeen 2000 lei and 5000 lei, the total being 24,000 lei. Among the people that have been fined are numerous old people who have a pension of only 150 lei a month from work at the agricultural working places.

Another group of Pentecostal believers from the area of Moara, the region of Suceava, while gathered for prayer in the house of a believer, have been fined with sums between 1,000 lei, the total sum being 31,000 lei.

Victor Bulubenski - Pentecostal, from the area of Suceava, was questioned and threatened with four months of prison for his faith. They have renounced to this condemnation after an intervention on his behalf by his wife who suffers from a heart condition.

Traian Morar - Baptist student at the University of Timisoara, has been taken on the day of May 20, 1980 and transported to the headquarters of the security where he was questioned and tortured by two security officers. Traian Morar is a friend of the Romanian Christian Committee "The Defense of Religious Liberty and Conscience" and keeps close contact with its members.

8. Pentecostals, Baptists, and Adventists thrown in prison or fined because they have asked to immigrate.

Ene Chelnaru - Pentecostal, Str. Alexandru cel Bun, nr. 18, Apt. 8, Suceava. Father of 8.

Condemned to 4 months in prison, in a process that had the doors closed, and the decree 153/1970 has been applied, because in 1978 he asked permission to immigrate. He was condemned in April 1980.

Valerian Polocoser - Pentecostal, with the residence in Radauti, St. Nicolae Calcead nr. 15. Arrested on the 4th of April in a grocery store from his town, by the Director of the passport office.

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Palocoser was escorted to the police, questioned, and by a quick process, with the closed doors, condemned because he has asked to immigrate - to four months in prison. He has 4 children - all of them under the age of 6.

Vasile-Silauca-Pentecostal with residence in Aleea Lazar Vicol nr, in Suceava was condemned to 4 months of jail because he asked to immigrate. Silauca was arrested on the 15th of April 1980, after he exited from an audience that he had with Girbea, the general officer of security and passports from Str. Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest.

Silauca, Iacob and Palocoser have been transported as arrested people in Suceava, where they have been questioned by the lieutenant major Marcu, colonel Apaschi and another major.

Gheorghe Palocoser - Pentecostal from Suceava, fined with 1000 lei, because he has asked permission to immigrate. He has 11 children, 9 of whom are minors.

Mihai Iacov - Pentecostal from Suceava fined with 1000 lei because he has asked to immigrate. He has four children all minors.

During the interrogation, lieutenant major Marcu has kicked Mihai Iiacov with his feel.

Dumitru① Nemesniuc - Adventist from the city of Suceava, Aleea Venus. He has 10 children, of which 8 are minors.

On the 24th of April 1980, a day when he was to be received by Dragos Micus, the inspector of passports on the regional level of the police for the city of Suceava, he was arrested in the waiting room, interrogated and condemned in a case that was as quick as lighting, with the door closed, to 5 months of imprisonment. The real motive of this condemnation: he has asked to immigrate.

Ioan Lazar - Pentecostal, from the locality of Pirtestii de Jos, the region of Suceava. He has placed a request to immigrate in 1978. April 17, 1980, he was called to the headquarters of the local police, and then transported by car to the security. There he was questioned, judged and condemned immediately, during a quick process with the closed doors and condemned to three months or a fine of 3000 lei.

Ioan Lazar has paid the fine of 3000 lei so that he will not be jailed. He is the father of 11 children.

Toader Tiprigan, Baptist, from the community of Itcani, the region of Suceava. He has two sons, both established in Patterson USA. Because he has asked to immigrate, he was called to the police office and fined with 1000 lei.

It is of importance that during one questioning period, the Baptist Tiprigan was warned that one of his sons in USA, Severin, keeps a very close relationship with Pavel Nicolescu, the leader for the Romanian Christian Committee "The Defense of the Religious Liberty and Conscience. (ALCR). Therefore, we conclude that the security people from Suceava receive information about the activity of Romanian disidents, living in the United States and that these officials follow very closely the activity of Romanians across the border.

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__George Busiuc__ - Pentecostal from Itcani, the region of Suceava, for the act of travelling to Bucharest to have an audience before the passport officials was called to the police and fined with 1000 lei.

__Doru Taduscius__ from Medias, Sinsia Street. Condemned in September 1979 to 5 years imprisonment because he asked to immigrate and has protested in the center of the city of Medias. He was arrested and maltreated in an unbelieving fashion by the officers of the Ministry for the Internal Affairs. At the present, he is in the prison of Aiud, and is under a severe detention treatment.

9. A Pentecostal Pastor maltreated in the streets of Medias, by the security officers and the police officers as hundred of stunned citizens stood by and watched.

Ioan Samu, the pastor of the Pentecostal church Philadelphia, father of 9 children, had a lot to suffer in Romania from security and the police, as a result of his courage, his fight for liberty and because he has opened a church without the approval of state and ecclesiological officialdoms.

Arrested, condemned, maltreated and interned in a psychological hospital, Pastor Ioan Samu has remained unmoved, without accepting any sort of compromise with the atheistic government in regards to the existing problems of religious liberty and faith.

On February 15, 1980, when he was returning home from Bucharest, on many streets of Medias, officers in cars patrolled, waiting for pastor Samu. When Samu came with his car on Staion St., around 6:30 p.m., he was started by the strange sound of the siren from a police vehicle. Immediately other horns started to sound, alarming the whole block, and numerous lights came up. Samu's way has been closed by the police cars and police officers have surrounded him immediately. They have asked for his identification papers and for the keys of his car. Samu was asked to go in a police car, and he refused saying that he will follow them in his car. Immediately, Major Ø Bebea, the helper of the commanding officer of Medias, commanded his helpers to use force in getting Samu out of his car. (The security officials from the city of Medias are well known for their bestial ways towards many of believers from the Pentecostal Church Philadelphia.) The police officers have fallen upon him kicking with their fists, with their boots and pulling his fair.

The beating was approximately 30 minutes in length. In order to alarm the citizens, Samu started to scream. About three hundred people have gathered to see. Likewise, Samu's wife, who was in her ninth month of pregnancy, was kicked and pulled out of the car.

He was taken to police headquarters of the city of Medias, where he was questioned, and from there to Sibiu where he was questioned again by the commanding officer of the security of Sibiu for 5 hours. They have asked him to confess with whom he has spoken in Bucharest, and specifically to relate what sorts of connections he keeps with the Romanian Christian Committee; The Defense of Religious Liberty and Conscience."

Samu refused to give any declarations, even though the colonel procurator Dleahu has attempted to intimidate him, showing him a telephone conversation in regard to the activity of Samu.

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Among those that have beaten Pastor Samu in Medias there are the following people: Sergeant Girnod (From the City traffic) Lieutenant Major Rotaru, Lieutenant Dumbreanu, who kicked and pulled Samu's hair, and the Sergeant Major Paicu.

10. A young Baptist girl is condemned to 5 months in prison, under the accusation that she prostituted with foreign tourists. The real motive: her request to immigrate.

Mia Dercez, from the city of Constanta, St. Mangaliei nr. 72, bloc. A. sc. 1, ap. 20, member of the Baptist Church number 2 in Constanta, has been condemned on March 21, 1980, to five months' imprisonment, under the accusation that she has been a member of a group that was experiencing an Anarchist concept of life and that she was bribing foreigners with whom she had sexual relations.

Mia Dercez has been condemned by the Court nr. 3 of the Municipality of Bucharest, by the sentence nr. 114C/Martie 26 1980, file nr. 2797/1980. The juding audience having the case was formed of: Elena Madaras President of the Court and Elena Chereiu - procurator.

Even though she has invoked the decree 153/1970, article 1, letters b and d, Mia Dercez was condemned because she has asked to immigrate.

The trial was held behind closed doors, without the presence of her parents and without a deferse attorney. The judge has refused the request of Miss Mia Dercez to verify her virginity by admitting the testimony of a medical doctor (which would have contradicted the accusation which they have brought against her of being a prostitute.) The arrest has taken place a short time after Mia has gone to the passports section, at the Police Inspection of Bucharest.

It is evident that the process has been decided beforehand and it was directed by the security.

11. An unsuccessful attempt by two Pentecostals to go across the border.

Fed up with constant mistreatments, times of questioning and the brutalities with which the officials from the Ministry of the Internal Affairs have treated the believers from the Philadelphia Church from Medias, 2 Pentecostals decided to cross the border illegally by train.

The two, Cornel Burdusel and Doru Munteanu, were caught, interogated and beaten savagely by the police of Medias.

Judged during a trial with the closed doors, each one of them has received 4 months of jail. Under the accusation of complicity, that is to say that they have been implicated in the attempt of the 2 mentioned above, Marioara Dubei, the receptionist from the garage in Medias has been condemned to two months in prison, and Nicolae Munteanu, a locomotive mechanic has been condemned to 3 months in prison. Nicolae Munteanu has 4 minor children.

Marioara Dubei has two minor children at home, and her husband is in the United States.

Dubei and Muntenu have refused the accusation which the court has brought before them - i.e. that they have been impliaced in the attempt of Durdusel and Muntenau to go across the border.

12. The events from February 1980

In February 1980 while a delegation of the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, from the United States, was in Bucharest to have discussions with the Romanian government in regard to the upholding by both countries of the statements from the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement, and while in Bucharest, the European Baptist Federation was holding its session, the officials of the Ministry for the Internal Affairs, flagrantly violating the basic human rights, have arrested and interrogated in Timisoara, Cluj, and Caransebes the following Baptists: of whom seven are members of the Romanian Christian Committee "The Defense of the Religious Liberty and Conscience:" Dimitrie Ianculovici, Emerich Juhasz, Ioan Moldoveanu, Nicolae Bogdan, Ioan Tirziu, Radu Capusan Nicolae Radoi and Petru Iela. (PETRU IELA)

Some of them have been maltreated by the security, and at the trial at which Ioan Tirziu has been condemned to five months of prison, he could barely stand on his feet, because he was so badly beaten. In the court room, Ioan Tirziu has been brought without his clothes (it is believed that they have given him other clothes, because after the beatings that he has received the clothes has been filled with blood). The 8 have been abused, maltreated and under strict supervision by the security agents, so that they could not take any contacts with the American Delegation or with someone from the European Baptist Federation.

The advents that took place in February, constitute an insult not only for the Helsinki Agreement, but for the United States which, can be interpreted in this way: We want your dollars, your technology, and the advantages that we can get from the United States of America, but for the Romanian citizens who share the same ideals, the same values, the liberty and the democracy of the United States we have interrogations, questionings, tortures, exiles, psychiatrical hospitals, fists, boots and the police sticks, threats with death and the prison.

13. Who has profaned the church of Father Districeanu?

Father Gheorge Districeanu serves at the Orthodox Church "Sfinta Mucenit" Mina, from Iasi, Pacurari st.

Being a good priest and a good preacher, many young people came to his church to listen to his sermons, and especially the intellectuals. His church was always filled to the capacity. He loves the young people and the children: his church being one of the few churches where the young people participate in the service. The officials of the security from Iasi have warned Father Districeanu to stop implicating the children in his religious services, because his church is not a Baptist Church. Further more, he was warned that if he continues to prepare the children, he will "complicate his situation."

Inspired also by the activity of the Children's Choir from the Baptist Church in Iasi (the Orthodox Church and the Baptist Church are on the same street), Father Districeanu started to prepare a special children's program for Christmas: He taught them many songs and poems, and promised them gifts.

He brought a pine tree for their Christmas tree, and under the altar has placed the gifts for the children, but when he came to church two days

Before Christmas, he witnessed a great disaster: The Lord's Supper cup was broken with an axe and placed in front of the altar. The icons have been ripped from the walls (from a height of 5-6 meters) and they were piled in the center of the church and on top of them there was excrement. Some icons have been destroyed with an axe and the axe placed by the pile. There was also human excrement on the altar.

The tree was destroyed and the gifts which were supposed to be distributed to the children were spread in the church.

Nothing was stolen. In order to get the pictures down which were placed at a height of over 5 meters, the profanity workers needed a ladder. This demonstrates that the evil doers were not thieves. But who could be them? Father Bistriceanu has told his followers that what has taken place is something mysterious. Many have understood that here was the hand of the security attempting to intimidate the courageous priest.

In the same night, the same things happened with the church of Father ① Popovici - the Barnowski Church from the Central Hall in Iasi.

Both churches have been profaned in December 1979.

14. Adventists thrown in prison for a religious samizdat.

Because there is a great need of literature, a courageous group of Adventists have printed illegally in the period of 1977-79, in cooperation with other functionaries of other institutions in Romania, a large quantity of religious literature.

When on the date of May 15, teams from the economical police searched the homes of 17 Adventists, they have searched their beds, their attics, their libraries, even the chicken houses.

In order to appreciate the courage of the group and to see the magnitude of this activity by the Adventists to produce information that for many may appear without value, we are reproducing the titles of the books that they have printed, the pages of each book and number of books published:

Title	No.Pages	No. of Books
The Great Battle Between Christ and the Devil	750	1000
Patriarch and Prophets	800	2500
Prophets and Kings	600	1600
Experiences and Visions	280	3000
Christian Hymns	--	3000
Christian Hymns (notes)	--	1000
Christian Hymns (Hungarian)	--	1500
Announcers for Young People	350	2000
Diet and Food	450	2000
Divine Healing	400	1500
History of the Book of Acts	400	1000
Christ the Light of the World	850	1000
Biblical Commentaries	370	2000
A Return to Natural Alimentation	800	1500
A Holy Duty	250	1500
With Christ in the School of Suffering	225	1000
A Small Tract for the Sanitary Reform	225	1000
The Coming of the Comforter	125	2000

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Title	No. of Pages	No. of Books
The Holiness of Life	120	2000
The Method of Victory	100	1000
Methods for Evangeliation	120	1500
The Sufferings of Jesus	75	2000
Christ in History	100	2000
Testimonies Vol. 1	200	3000
Testimonies Vol. 2	300	1500
Evolution or Creation	500	1500
The Origin and the Destiny of Man	500	1500
Lessons for the Sabbath School	--	2000
The Life of Jesus	600	1500
Moral Purity	200	100

There were also more than 30 brochures of 25-75 pages dealing with subjects such as: alcohol, smoking, the law of the 10 commandments, the Last Judgment, Paradise, Hell, Family Life, Youth, Atheism, etc.

In order to imagine the magnitude of this work made by this group of Adventists, we wil cite an excerpt from the official file against one of the bravest and better known Adventists who has played a great role in the samisdat. We are talking of Gheorghe Alexandru from Ploiesti:

Alexandru Gheorghe has distributed without authority, works of religious-Adventist nature with a value of over 200,000 lei (The Procurators report, sect. 4 nr. 2755/II 3/1979 - Motive for the sentence nr. 1121, in regards to the accused Alexandru Gheorghe).

On May 7, 1979 seven Adventists have been arrested, from which some have been liberated, while some were detained at the headquarters of the secuirty where they have been questioned and beaten, in order to give declarations in regard to the multiplication and the distribution of the printed books.

We are reproducing from the Romanian bi-monthly Micro Magazin, which appears in New York: fragments from a letter sent from Romania to be broadcast over the Radio Free Europe, a letter which deals with the problem of the Adventist samisdat and the consequences of the believers involved in this activity: On the day of May 15, 1979, ten teams of police officers from Bucharest, accompanied by security officials have done house searches at the homes of 17 Adventists. In the following day they have made some other house searches at other believers. Also, many xerox operators were arrested and questioned who are not Christians and they have divulged other names, so that the number of those that have searched and questioned is above 80, in Bucharest and in the vicinity, and if we are including the xerox operators than the number is above 100. The confiscated books could fill two trucks. With these books, there has been an exhibition on the third floor of the Police Headquaters in Bucharest, where there is a map with the title: The levelopment of the Action 'Lighning' where thre are the names of the believers that have been searched and of the xerox operators. The map has the following dimensions 1.80 m by 1 m.

According to the letter this is the situation of the Adventists involved in this samisdat:

Mihai Romelia: condemned to 1 year of imprisonment at his place of work and
the confiscation of 37,000 lei.

Cornelia Mihail, the father of Romelia Mihail, who in the recent years has was jailed for 7 years, has disappeared on the 15th of May. It is believed that he was attempting to escape the security and was shot as he tried to go across the border.
Alexandru Sima condemned to 2 years in jail.
Marin Chirita condemned to 16 months in jail.
Gheorghe Stancu condemned to 1 year in jail.
Gheorghe Pancea condemned to 1 year in jail.
Gheorghe Alexandru condemned to 1 year in jail.
Pavel Turturicea condemned to 1 year in jail.
Doru Grigoriu condemned to 1 year in jail.
Ion Mosur condemned to 8 months in jail.
Alexandru Cimpoca condemned to 1 year in jail.
Ion Dragomirescu condemned to 1 year in jail.
Spiridon Schitelea condemned to 1 year in jail.

The ltter mentions that in all the sentences given against the Adventists implicated in this samizdat, it was decided that all the literature will be destroyed.

This act has been confirmed in Penal Sentence nr. 1121/4Iulie 1979 Dosar nr. 4725/1979 at the Court nr. 5 of the Municipality of Bucharest against Alexandru Gheorghe which says:

Based on the penal code 118, the articles containing religious materials will be confiscated from the accused...in the favor of the state, and the articles will be destroyed.... (the underlining belongs to the writer of the letter) Meanwhile, after a few months, starting with May 15, 1979 in the Romanian press articles appeared which attempted to compromise the Adventists which have been involved in the writing and the distribution of the literature, something that is a well known communist method of blackmailing and making dirty those that have courage to stand for religious liberty.

The basic problem is not if the Adventist samizdat has brought prejudices against the state, as the security inquisitors pretend; but "Why there is no liberty in Romania and than in the light of this virtue Christian literature could be printed?
Another question is 'Why has the communist government taken from the believers their small printing shop? and the last one, The leaders of the Adventist Church, the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, and the Department of Cults, who understand one another so well, even in the persecution of the believers - could they show us what religious titles they have printed in the last 30 years of the Communist regime?

15. 10 prisoners of consciance in Romania.

The Romanian Christian Committee ALRC has information about the following 10 prisoners of consciance from Romania:

1. Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa
2. Gheorghe Alexandru
3. Gheorghe Drasoveanu
4. Ioan Cana
5. Mircea Dragomir
6. Lucian Sistriceanu
7. Viorel Ardeleanu
8. Petre Anghelus
9. Ioan Tirziu
10. Andrei Ionel

1. Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa

An Orthodox priest. He has spent 16 years in prison as a political prisoner during 1948-63. At the present he is condemned for 10 years. After his liberation in 1963 he takes two degrees: one in philology (French language and literature) and one in theology. He becomes a priest and is given a position as a professor of New Testament and French at the Orthodox Seminary Radu Voda from Bucharest.

Attacks in his sermons atheism and criticizes openly the destruction of the place of worship for Orthodox believers: Enea Church in Bucharest and Domneasca Church from Focsani.

Because of his courage and popularity among university students and his theology students, he attracts the hate of the Department of Cults and of the leadership of the Seminary Radu Voda. In an illegal manner he was dismissed from his position as a professor.

During this time, the Radio Free Europe, broadcasted the series of his sermons called " The Seven Words for the Young People." On March 10, 1979, the priest Calciu declares to Pavel Nicolescu, in one of the offices of the security from Calea Rahovei. "I have given declarations because they have tortured me: for four days and four nights I was kept standing, without being allowed to sleep." Imprisoned in the Aiud penitentiary, the priest Calciu is kept in an inhumane regime of isolation and severe conditions, with the hope that in this way he will be exterminated.

2. Gheorghe Alexandru

An Adventist from Ploiesti. He was condemned in October 1979 to 18 months of jail. The last news that we have is thathe is in the Margineni or Caragiale prison. In the past because of his fight for religious freedom, he spent 4 years in prison. His wife was forced to raise their four children by herself, working as a nurse.

One of the children of Gheorghe Alexandru, for his religious conviction has completed 2 years of imprisonment (being a soldier he has refused to execute the given order on the day of Sabbath.)

The last sentence of Gheorghe Alexandru is in connection with the fact that he was involved in the printing and the distribution of religious literature.

As a sign of protest against the persecution and against the difficulties that the family has suffered in Romania, the whole family of Gheorghe Alexandru has decided to immigrate.

3. Gheorghe Brasoveanu

An economist. One of the founders of SLOMR (The Free Syndicate of Working Men of Romania). In the last 7 years, he was placed 5 times in psychiatric hospitals.

He was arrested on March 10, 1979. He was questioned by the security and thrown initially into a psychiatric hospital. At the present time he is in Galati prison, very sick, having severe headaches. There was news that he will be freed, but in May 1980 no one knew the date.

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In the winter of 1979/80 his wife has sent him a package with food and winter clothes. The clothes have been returned to Mrs. Drasoveanu under the pretext that they are heavier than it is permitted for the prison to receive in a package.

A little while before the arrest of G. Drasoveanu, the officials of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, have taken Mrs. Drasoveanu, from her home in Bucharest and obligated her through numerous moral pressures and threats to declare that her husband is demented.

What is the 'evil act' of G. Drasoveanu and why is he considered 'demented'? Because his social religious concepts do not fit within the official Marxist-Leninst ideology of the Romanian Communist Party. G. Drasoveanu has lectured in Romania, about God and Life - An Analogy Between Biology and Industry (in which he refutes the materialistic theories about the origin of man), he is an outspoken adversary of capitalism and communism, maintaining that only Jesus Christ with his teaching can institute a society which is better and which offers equality, and is an original interpreter of biblical prophecies (Daniel and Apocalypse) in which he treats the contemporary communism.

Drasoveanu is an open critic of the politics of Mr. Ceausescu and an adversary for all totaliatarian governments: Thus, he was happy when the government of Pol Pot and the Shah have fallen.

Drasoveanu is an intellectual genius with profound Christian and democratic convictions. Through an open letter addressed to the Patriarch of Romania and to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communisty Party, Gheorghe Drasoveanu has proposed an open dialogue between Christians and Marxists on television.

4. Ioan Cana

A Medical doctor. One of the founders of SLOMR. Enters in an open conflict with the Romanian Government when through his convictions, he refused to take the loyalty oath towards the Communist Party.

He is arrested on March 10, 1979 by 15 officers from the security. He was questioned and tortured by the officers of the Ministry for the Internal Affairs and condemned to 5 years in prison.

Through threats and promises, the investigators succeeded to draw from his father and his sister the statement that he is demented.

After Radio Free Europe in August 1979 has reported about this in an interview accorded by Pavel Nicolescu, the agents of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, have attached and beaten in open street the father of Ioan Cana. On the second day the elderly Cana, was called to the security headquarters and warned that if Radio Free Europe continues to speak about his son, he, the father of Cana will be assassinated by a car accident.

5. Mircea Dragomir

Adventist. Condemned for the first time in 1974 to three years of prison because he has refused to work on the Sabbath. (At that time he was in the army). He was freed in 1977, and was again called in the army in September 1977, and sent to a working unit in Timisoara.

Because of his religious convictions he refused to participate in instructions or to work on Saturdays. He is beaten by the military officer and sent to the Tribunal of Timisoara, which in the sentence of 111/19 May 1978 condemned him for the second time under the accusation of 'Insubordination, giving him 4 years of prison. Mircea Dragomir, who until present has served 4 years in the jail, suffers of glomerul enfrita, a kidney sickness with the symptoms of red urine, and inflamations of the face and the legs.

6. Lucian Districeanu

An Adventis from the community of Ciuperceni Vechi, the city of Calafat, the region of Dolj. Condemned to 3 years of imprisonment by the Sentence 110/9 May 1978, by the Military Court of Timisoara. We will reproduce a fragment from the memorandum addressed by Mrs. Districeanu to the President Niclae Ceausescu in 1979 in regards to her son:

"In 1958, on Oct. 24, my husband Districeanu Mitran was arrested because he was a member of the Adventist Confession - the Seventh Day - The Reformed Movement, and condemned to 15 years of heavy labor - because he kept the Sabbath. Being invalid of his left hand he has done 4 years of imprisonment, during which time I was alone at home, with two children, one of 5 years and one of 3 months.

Through a decision by the court, my property has been confiscated, and I was forced to live with my relatives. I was obligated to work in jobs that have been very heavy and very menial, so that I could raise my children.

As a result of these conditions, my son Lucian (Lucian was born on the 11th of June 1958) became sick with pulmonary sickness, heart, nasal hemorrhages and other physical deformities.

Against the medical advice, Lucian Districeanu was incorporated, sent into the army, to unit 01731 from Timisoara. Here, because of his religious convictions, he refuses every activity in Saturdays.

And Mrs. Districeanu continues: 'Lucian has been kicked by two officers, thrown to the ground in front of the whole unit, and another solder was asked to kick him so hard that he was barely able to stand up. At the prison in Timsoara, Lucian has been kept in isolation for 14 days. When he was brought before us we could hardly recognise him because he was so weakened by this isolation program.

At the present time my son is in the prison of Gherla.

7. Viorel Ardelean

An Adventist from the village of Cristelec, the region of Salaj. Condemned to 3 years in prison. The case is similar to those of Mircea Dragomir and Lucian Districeanu.

Other information about Viorel Ardealanu we do not have.

8. Petre Anghelus

Adventistfrom the community of Duzescu, the region of Teleorman. Condemned to 3 years of prison. Case similar as that of Mircea Baragomir, and Lucian Districeanu. Other information about Petre Anghelus we do not have.

9. Ioan Tirziu

A Baptist from Timisoara. Questioned for the first time by the security in Timisoara on June 29, 1979, for 4 hours and fined with 500 lei for a memorandum addressed to the authorities of Romania seeking his immigration, a memorandum that was broadcast over the Radio Free Europe in June 23, 1979.

During the time of his interrogation, Ioan Tirziu was beaten by the officials from the security Guias Petre (Gullyas) and Petre Pela with karate chops. These two officers have threatened him with death. "It is possible never to reach the city of Bucharest." "It is possible to fall down from the train.' (Recently, the security agents from the Ministry of the Internal Affairs have increased their death threats to believers and the militants of human rights).

In February 1980, while the delegation from America from the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe met andthe time of the European Baptist Federations meeting, Ioan Tirziu was arrested, questioned and tortured by the major of the security Guias Petre, and hit with fishts and kicked.

On February 13, 1980, Ioan Tirziu is judged by the lourt of Timisoara and condemned to 3 months in prison.

Those that have seen Tirziu in the courtroom, have declared that the accused has been brought before the judge without his clothes, dressed only in a shirt, probably because his own clothes have been spotted with blood from the time of his torture.

The interrogation, the torture, and the condemnations of Ioan Tirziu has been one of the repressive methods used by the officials of the Ministry for the Internal Affairs against the members of the Romani\ Christian Committee 'The Defense of the Religious Liberty and Conscience,' members that have attempted to come in contact with the American delegation from the Commission of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

10. Andrei Ionel

A Pentecostal from the community of Rinceni, the region of Vaslui. Incorporated in February 1974, Andrei Ionel is sent to a military unit of security from Dicesul Ardealean. After one month in the military, his superiors have found that he is a Pentecostal believer. He is called before them and asked: If we command you to kill a man, will you shoot, will you obey the order?

Andrei Ionel answered, "No."

Refuses also because of the religious convictions and conscience to take the oath. Is sent home by his superiors, for one month to rethink his positions.

In April 1974, Andrei Ionel is called again before the Military Court of

Timisoara, judged and sentenced to 3 years of prison.
He is liberated after a pardoning act in March 1976.

After one month of liberty, he is incorporated again. The story becomes repeated and he is condemned again to 3 years in prison. Liberated in 1977, Andrei Ionel returns to his parents, but is incorporated again, for the third time in March 1978.
He keeps his attitude - has pacifist convictions and refuses to take the oath - and is therefore again condemned for another 3 years in prison.

At this time, Andrei Ionel is in a prison famous for its wickedness from Poarta Alba, the region of Constanta.
At the present we do not know anything else, except that he is imprisoned.

We have presented only a few aspects of the religious persecution in Romania, the problem being more complex and needing a greater attention to details.
The conclusion that we reach is that religion has become a problem unsupportable for the Bucharest regime, a regime which intensifies its fight against a reality about which the Marxist ideologues have concluded, 30 years ago, that it will be destroyed by itself.

Rev. Aurel Popescu
The Pastor of the Romanian Baptist Church
New York, USA

Rev. Pavel Nicolescu
The Spokesman for ALRC
(Defense of Religious Liberty and Consciences)

Pavel Nicolescu

Genoveva Sfatcu
Children's Choir Director
The Romanian Baptist Church
New York

EXPLANATION NOTE:

A worker earns about 5000 lei/3 months.

Police Officers = dealing mostly with every day activities

Security Officers - the secret police of the government involved in political and religious activities. This group appears often as police officers, but is well known for its cruel ways of treating people.

July 4,1980

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arthur Ronan.

You may proceed, Mr. Ronan.

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR P. RONAN, PRESIDENT, ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, AXLE GROUP

Mr. RONAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am Arthur Ronan, president of the Axle Group of Rockwell International.

While we recognize the important public policy considerations which led to the granting of the MFN status to Hungary, we are seriously concerned about the adverse economic impact that it is having on certain U.S. industries.

In May of 1978, I testified before this committee as to the potential market disruption of the U.S. independent heavy duty axle industry if most-favored-nation status were granted to the Hungarian People's Republic. Since MFN status was granted, the predicted potential market disruption has in fact occurred.

The import tariff categories including heavy duty axles rose from practically zero prior to the MFN to be the second largest import from Hungary in 1979, and U.S. Government statistics for the first 4 months of 1980 show an additional increase of 40 percent.

The imports together with the downturn in the U.S. economy has had a severe impact on production in our nine truck and trailer axle related facilities in this country. For example, our trailer axle facility in Kenton, Ohio, has had a reduction in natural production of some 66 percent. We have been in contact and are in continuing contact with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative on this matter, and it is our purpose here today to apprise the committee of this problem and request the committee's support in solving it.

That concludes my summarization, and I will be glad to answer any questions relative to your request for briefness.

Senator RIBICOFF. I am just curious. Is Hungary the only competitor in axles that the American industry has now?

Mr. RONAN. In the Comcon countries, yes, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. What other countries?

Mr. RONAN. Well, there are competitors, of course, in the United Kingdom, in Italy, in France. They all compete, but they do not have the MFN trade considerations.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, with those countries there isn't a problem of MFN. The Hungarians don't come in at a cheaper rate than the other countries. It just comes in at the same rate.

Mr. RONAN. Well, because of the considerations, sir, of free trade, where behind the Iron Curtain their motivation is to basically produce at cost and sell at those levels, when they are not taxed accordingly when they come into this country, they can in effect determine at what price they will bring the product in, and therefore it is not at a competitive level.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, take a comparable number of items that comprise the major Hungarian exports to the United States. How would they compare in the price they sell in the United States to the price that you sell for the same item in the United States?

Mr. RONAN. Well, taking one specific example; namely, the trailer axles, which relates to——

Senator RIBICOFF. The which axles?

Mr. RONAN. The trailer axles. They go on the trailers which ride behind truck tractors, sir. Which would be an example. They have come into this country versus our prices and our other competitors' prices in this country in the range of 25 percent under our figures, not just our own, but all of our other competitors in this country.

Senator RIBICOFF. And 25 percent would amount to how much? What does an axle like that sell for? Who do you sell that to?

Mr. RONAN. We sell it to trailer manufacturers, such as Trailmobile.

Senator RIBICOFF. All right. How much do you sell it for?

Mr. RONAN. Well, it varies, but it is in the range of $300 to $400.

Senator RIBICOFF. So they really sell it about $100, $75 to $100 cheaper than you do.

Mr. RONAN. Yes, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. How big is that market?

Mr. RONAN. Well, it is a market which, depending upon whether you are talking about high production or specialty type trailers, but I would take the specialty markets because that is really the one that they are selling into. It is a market of approximately 200,000 trailer axles in the course of 1 year.

Senator RIBICOFF. You say you have taken this up with the U.S. Trade Representative.

Mr. RONAN. Yes, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. What response have you gotten from them?

Mr. RONAN. It has been encouraging, and they have been working with us on it, and as I said, the only reason for us attending today is to really go on record. Our discussions with them have been promising but not conclusive.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, you want them to be goaded a little bit to give it a little more attention.

Mr. RONAN. Hopefully. Yes, sir.

Senator RIBICOFF. Any questions, Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. You are not opposing MFN status, then?

Mr. RONAN. We are not opposing it in terms of the human rights aspects of it, but we are opposing it from the standpoint that if it creates unfair pricing in the manufactured products trade going either here or there, for that matter, then it does cause a disruptive type problem in our industry, and that is where we have the problem.

I think the basic concept of it is good. I think we are all for human rights. Certainly I am personally and I know that our company is. But when it creates the fact that we lose jobs in this country when we in effect knowingly are very competitive with all other producers of these products, it is a problem, yes, sir.

Senator DOLE. There have actually been jobs lost because of it? Is there any evidence of that?

Mr. RONAN. Yes. In the more detailed documentation which we will file this morning, there is hard evidence of that.

Senator RIBICOFF. Whatever you file, we will send over to the U.S. Trade Representative. I think this is one of the big problems facing us. Other countries have government subsidies, or there is dumping, and there are methods that you can determine prices of your competitors in a free market economy. It is almost impossible to determine such prices on imports from a Comcon country.

Mr. **Ronan**. That is true. Of course, the basis that we have here is that we are very close to the OEM customers in this industry. We think, other than those manufacturers who are captive, in other words, a manufacturer who would make an end product, and then also that axle that went into it, we are competitive with him in what he makes as a captive product, and we think that we are very competitive with anybody else that produces these types of products in this industry.

Senator **Ribicoff**. In other words, what comes in from the Community, European Community, you have no complaint, because the prices are comparable to yours, the costs and everything else.

Mr. **Ronan**. True, and it is evidenced not just here but also as we compete with them in their countries, because we sell comparable products here, all over Europe, and South and Central America, wherever, and so we have a good basis of information to know what those costs and prices should be, and we have an excellent ability to ascertain technology in terms of manufacturing process to determine what that should be.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Thank you very much, Mr. Ronan.

Mr. **Ronan**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Ribicoff**. I mean, I think you have called the committee's attention to a basic problem that has not been solved, and I think the committee could well go into the overall issue, not just on axles for you.

Thank you very much, Mr. Ronan.

Mr. **Ronan**. Thank you, sir. We appreciate it.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ronan follows:]

Washington Office
1745 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, VA 22202

Rockwell
International

SUBMISSION OF

A. P. RONAN, PRESIDENT, AXLE GROUP

AUTOMOTIVE OPERATIONS

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION

TO THE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

HEARING ON RELATIONS

BETWEEN

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE

HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

July 21, 1980

SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, I am Arthur P. Ronan, President of the Axle Group of Rockwell International.

I will summarize my statement and request that the full statement be included in the record.

In May 1978 I testified before this Committee as to potential market disruption of the United States independent heavy duty axle industry if Most Favored Nation (MFN) status were granted to the Hungarian People's Republic.

Since MFN status was granted, the predicted potential market disruption has occurred. The import tariff categories, including heavy duty axles, rose from practically zero prior to MFN to be the second largest import from Hungary in 1979 and U.S. Government statistics for the first four months of 1980 shows an additional increase of 40%.

The imports together with the downturn in the U.S. economy has had a severe impact on production in our nine truck and trailer axle related facilities. For example, our trailer axle facility in Kenton, Ohio has had a reduction in axle production of 66%.

We have been in contact and are continuing contact with the office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) on this matter. It is our purpose here today to apprise the Committee of this problem and request the Committee's support in solving it.

That concludes my summarization and I will be glad to answer questions.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT

On behalf of Rockwell International, let me first express my appreciation for the opportunity of presenting this statement to the Committee.

The Automotive Operations of Rockwell International Corporation is a major manufacturer of axles and other components for heavy duty vehicles, including trucks, trailers, and buses.

It is our intent with this statement to apprise the Committee of present and potential significant market disruption in the United States domestic independent heavy duty axle manufacturing industry and to request the Committee's support in solving the problem. This disruption is caused by the continuing actual and prospective increase in imports of directly competitive heavy duty truck and trailer axles and axle components from the Hungarian People's Republic.

Rockwell International testified about this potential market disruption at the Committee's 1978 hearings concerning the granting of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status for the Hungarian People's Republic.

After the Hungarian People's Republic received MFN status in 1978, events moved swiftly. The predicted heavy duty axle market disruption became significant in 1979.

The United States Department of Commerce trade imports statistics for 1979 reveal that the tariff category, including heavy duty axles, grew from practically zero prior to MFN status for Hungary to be the second largest Hungarian import category by the end of 1979. The same United States Department of Commerce trade statistics show that the U.S. trade balance with the Hungarian People's Republic went from a positive one in 1978 to a negative one by the end of 1979. The significant changes to bring this about were a reduction in U.S. exports of "Food and Live Animals" and increased imports in "Machinery and Transport Equipment."

At the conclusion of Rockwell International's 1978 testimony to the Committee, the Chairman, Senator Ribicoff, stated:

> "We understand the situation and the various authorities from the Executive Branch have testified that they are aware of the problems of assuring that there would not be undue disruption by rapid increase in exports to this nation. I am sure the Committee as well as they, will so monitor."

In accordance with the Senator's suggestion, when undue disruption through increasing imports occurred, Rockwell International brought the matter to the attention of the appropriate authority within the Executive Branch, the office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR). Contact with the staff of the USTR was initiated in March of this year and is continuing. While the cooperation of the staff has been gratifying, the problem as yet has not been resolved. We believe, therefore, that it is appropriate to apprise the Committee of our continuing concern and the necessity for a satisfactory and prompt resolution to be reached by the USTR within the framework of Article VII of the U.S.-Hungary Trade Agreement of March 1978.

The downturn in the U.S. economy and in particular the depressed state of the U.S. automotive industry, including heavy duty vehicles and components, intensifies the negative impact of imports. Since 1978, the reduction in our demand has resulted in the layoff of over 1,400 employees in our nine truck and trailer axle related facilities. Most significant is the 66% reduction in demand at our major trailer axle facility in Kenton, Ohio. At the same time, the U.S. Department of Commerce trade statistics for the first 4 months of 1980 of imports from Hungary show that two major tariff categories containing heavy duty axles and components (TSUSA numbers 692,3288 and 692,3207) total approximately $5.8 million and are 40% above the 1979 level. These are the same categories that grew from zero prior to MFN status for Hungary to be the second largest import by the end of 1979.

As previously stated, we have brought this matter to the attention of the appropriate authority of the Executive Branch, the office of the United States Trade Representative.

It is our intention to continue the contact with the office of the United State Trade Representative in an effort to solve the problem and it is hoped that it will be the sense of this Committee to emphasize to the Administration the urgent need for an early satisfactory conclusion.

Senator Ribicoff. The next group is Donald Hasfurther, Mark Sandstrom, Maurice Boschy, Simon Chilewich, Mr. Baboyian, Mr. Peter Afanasenko, Mr. Preston Brown, and our former colleague, Clifford P. Case, and Mr. Stephen Gans.

I hope in all your wisdom you have learned how to divide the 15 minutes allocated without giving an undue advantage or disadvantage to any of you gentlemen.

How shall we proceed? Left to right? Right to left? Center to right?

STATEMENT OF DONALD J. HASFURTHER, DIRECTOR FOR EAST-WEST TRADE, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Hasfurther. Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me, I am Donald Hasfurther of the U.S. Chamber, and I will begin now, sir.

Senator Ribicoff. OK, sir. You may go ahead.

Mr. Hasfurther. I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear here today in support of continuation of most-favored-nation tariff status for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. I am particularly pleased to be a part of this business panel.

Senator Ribicoff. Let me ask you. How will you suggest you proceed with Mr. Ronan's complaint? I mean, you are from the Chamber of Commerce, so this must be an overall problem not just eing confined to axles. Would you have any thoughts on that?

Mr. Hasfurther. Yes, sir, I have one immediate thought, and hat is with regard to one of the business councils that we do have stablished with Eastern Europe. It is the Hungarian-United States Economic Council, of which Rockwell International is a member. I would be very pleased to discuss with them their problem a little urther. We will be having a meeting of that council later this ear, this fall, and I think that is a very appropriate issue to be aised at that time.

Senator Ribicoff. Is Mr. Ronan still in the room? Or has he one?

Mr. Hasfurther. If he is gone, I will make an effort to contact m.

Senator Ribicoff. Will you call it to his attention, and tell him at you were in the room when the question was asked, it was ised with you, and that you would be pleased not just for Mr. onan but with other American industries?

How do you address yourself to competitive problems with a mmunity where there is no way to judge costs?

Oh, Mr. Ronan is back in the room?

Mr. Ronan, Mr. Hasfurther is representing the U.S. Chamber of mmerce, and I have put to him the question I asked you, because is bigger than Rockwell. It is an overall policy. And he says you e part of the business council, Rockwell International, and that ere will be a meeting later on in the fall in which this overall oblem will be addressed, and he would be more than pleased on half of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to enter into further cussions with you on your problem. So, after his testimony, you ght chat with him for a few minutes.

You may proceed, sir.

Mr. Hasfurther. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If you are in agreement, I will briefly summarize my written testimony, and then turn the floor over to the other panelists for them to do the same.

Senator **Ribicoff**. All right.

Mr. **Hasfurther**. The chamber is pleased with the development of U.S. commercial relations with Romania, Hungary, and China. A great deal of this progress can be attributed to the conclusion of trade agreements with these individual countries. For this progress to be sustained, the favorable commercial climate established as a result of these trade agreements must also be continued.

As I indicated before, the Hungarian-United States Economic Council, as well as the Romanian-United States Economic Council, will be meeting within the next 3 months. If there are any additional messages or items that the subcommittee would like to see addressed at those sessions, please convey them to me and I will raise them at the meeting.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Well, Senator Danforth isn't in the room, but there is a deep concern on his part over the patent controversy concerning chemicals with Hungary.

Mr. **Hasfurther**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Ribicoff**. So I think you ought to take a look at that, too.

Mr. **Hasfurther**. We are very aware of that problem, and we certainly will discuss that at our session.

Mr. Chairman, before I turn the microphone over to the other panelists, I mention that Robert Aronson, the executive secretary of the Romanian-United States Economic Council, is also in this room today, and following the addresses by the other panelists, if there are any questions that you might have of us, we would be very happy to try to answer them.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Shall we have all the testimony, Senator Dole, before questions?

Senator **Dole**. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Mr. Sandstrom, please.

STATEMENT OF MARK SANDSTROM, ATTORNEY, ON BEHALF OF THE ATALANTA CORP., ACCOMPANIED BY MAURICE BOSCHY, VICE PRESIDENT, THE ATALANTA CORP.

Mr. **Sandstrom**. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Mark Sandstrom and I am here today representing the Atalanta Corp. of New York, N.Y. I also have with me Mr. Maurice Boschy, vice president of Atalanta. Atalanta strongly supports the continuation of the President's authority to waive the trade act freedom of emigration provisions, both generally, and specifically in the cases of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China.

The Atalanta Corp. is a marketing organization for a large variety of high quality food products, which are distributed throughout the United States by its 70-man sales force located in New York City and in 15 sales offices throughout the country. Atalanta imports products from over 40 countries throughout the world including Romania, Hungary, and China. It is the company's view that the maintenance and growth of harmonious trade relations between the United States and the Socialist countries, including the preservation of most-favored-nation tariff treatment, is in the interest not only of U.S. companies doing business with these countries but also in the interest of the United States as a whole.

ROMANIA

Atalanta Corp. has been importing canned hams and other quality products from Romania since 1970. Thus we have been serving U.S. customers quality Romanian products well before East-West trade became a prominent element of the total U.S. trade picture. Over the past decade Atalanta's trade with Romania has grown so that in 1979, it imported $23 million of quality canned hams from that country. Atalanta also serves as a member of the United States-Romanian Economic Council, which operates under the administrative scope of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, but is autonomous in matters of policy. Through its commercial activity with Romania and its membership on the Council, Atalanta is in a unique position to testify to the benefits that accrue to U.S. companies and U.S. consumers with respect to trade with Romania.

In addition, the United States as a whole has gained from bilateral trade with Romania over the past several years. In 1970, the overall United States-Romanian trade was $80 million. In 1979, 4 years after ratification of the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement, bilaterial trade has now reached $830 million, and it is expected that it may well pass the billion dollar mark this year. Furthermore, the United States is enjoying a positive trade balance with Romania. The purposes for which the United States-Romanian Trade Agreement was originally signed have clearly been served by the development of trade between the two countries since the original granting of most-favored-nation to that country. Increased economic relations between the United States and Romania have fostered the development of good overall relations between the countries. Thus, the record strongly supports the position of this company that the President's waiver authority should be continued in order to permit the further growth of United States-Romanian trade relations.

HUNGARY

In 1978, the United States-Hungarian Trade Agreement was approved by the Congress and most-favored-nation tariff treatment was extended to the products of that country. A decade prior to that time, the Atalanta Corp. had been involved in the importation of food products from that country. Last year, the company imported approximately $30 million of ham products from Hungary. Atalanta is also a member of the joint United States-Hungarian Economic Council, under the auspices of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Since the passage of most-favored-nation and the United States-Hungarian Trade Agreement, bilaterial trade between the two countries has increased to $190 million. Due to certain limits on Hungary's hard currency imports during the last year, the trade balance with Hungary shifted to the negative. However, we anticipate that the balance will again turn to the United States' favor in the near future. In any case, we view the case for most-favored-nation tariff treatment as beneficial not only to companies doing business with Hungary but overall U.S. economic relations as a whole. The factors which led this committee and the Congress to approve the United States-Hungarian Trade Agreement in 1978, still apply today.

CHINA

As this committee is fully aware, the United States has only recently concluded a trade agreement with China pursuant to title IV of the 1974 Trade Act. U.S. companies are now beginning to establish commercial relations with their Chinese counterparts. In 1979, United States-Chinese trade amounted to $2.3 billion, double its 1978 level. In that year, the United States did enjoy a $1.1 billion trade surplus with China. For its part, the Atalanta Corp. has begun to import certain food products from China, including canned mackerel and mushrooms. Although only a short period of time has elapsed since the granting of most-favored-nation tariff treatment to China, the record of trade over the past year or so and the enormous potential for trade expansion, would argue very strongly for the continuation of normalized trade relations with that country.

Atalanta strongly supports the continuation of the President's authority, in general, and specifically with respect to the countries of Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. In every case, the normalization of trade relations with these countries and the trade expansion which has followed has served economic interests of the United States. Just as U.S. consumers have been able to increase their access to products from these countries, so to have these countries grown as markets for U.S. producers. For these reasons it is necessary to maintain normal trade relations with these countries.

This concludes our testimony. We would be happy to answer any questions which the committee members may have.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Thank you.

Mr. Baboyian.

STATEMENT OF H. K. BABOYIAN, VICE PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, ACCOMPANIED BY PETER AFANASENKO, CORPORATE REPRESENTATIVE INTERNATIONAL, UOP INC.

Mr. **Baboyian**. I am H. K. Baboyian, sir. I am vice president of UOP Inc. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the subcommittee to support President Carter's recommendation for an extension of waiver authority granted for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China.

UOP is a $1 billion U.S. corporation engaged in the development of energy technology, construction and engineering services, and manufactured products on a worldwide basis. We have done business in Romania for over 40 years. For many years, we have also done business in Hungary.

UOP was one of the first U.S. corporations to do a substantial amount of business in the People's Republic of China. We have found that through each of these relationships beneficial results have taken place.

Although I have submitted a longer testimony for the record, I will be very brief in summarizing it for the moment. UOP believes that such continued most-favored-nation status with these countries will further strengthen and facilitate business relations between them and the United States. We strongly support President Carter's recommendations for a further extension authority under the Trade Act of 1974, and along with other members of the panel we are actively engaged in trade councils that represent these countries in the U.S. business community.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you.

Mr. Simon Chilewich.

STATEMENT OF SIMON CHILEWICH, PRESIDENT, CHILEWICH CORP.

Mr. CHILEWICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Simon Chilewich. I am president of Chilewich Corp. of New York. I would like to express my distinct pleasure of being able to make this testimony before this committee, both as a citizen deeply concerned with the international posture of the United States as well as a businessman sensitive to the importance of trade as it affects international relations.

As a citizen traveling extensively abroad, I regret that our country in relation to its size, capability, and technology, has generally not commensurately participated in world trade. As a businessman, I regret that our trade relations are often kept hostage to political objectives.

Trade development between the United States and other countries should be promoted and encouraged in our own self-interest, as indeed they could bring a positive influence on our own and even world political relations.

Stifling of trade for political objectives is likely to be counterproductive because in addition to economic distortion, it unavoidably provokes anger and recrimination.

The consummation of any business transaction requires a priori the agreement and good will of two parties, and thus in addition to economic benefits has the potential of providing a link toward better political understanding.

I submit that trade with Romania is indeed a case in point. Most-favored-nation trade treatment accorded to Romania has contributed not only to the development of trade between our countries but also has influenced cultural and political understanding.

My company is involved in the hide business, which is the raw material for leather. Exports of hides from the United States to Romania in 1979 amounted to some $60 million. In terms of our gross national product, this is not overwhelming, but it does, however, represent some 7 percent of our overall exports of hides, and therefore provides an important economic contribution to the cattle and beef industry of this country and a necessary outlet for an agricultural byproduct produced in surplus to our own requirements.

I would like to urge you, Mr. Chairman, and your committee to recommend the extension of the most-favored-nation treatment to Romania, as I am convinced that this is in our best national interest.

Thank you.

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. Preston Brown and Senator Case.

STATEMENT OF PRESTON BROWN, ATTORNEY ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMODITIES EXPORT CO.; ACCOMPANIED BY HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

Mr. **Brown**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am Preston Brown. With me is former Senator Clifford P. Case. We represent International Commodities Export Co., White Plains, N.Y., a major exporter of fertilizers, fertilizer raw materials, and allied products. Mr. Emil S. Finley, the president of ICEC, has asked us to appear on the company's behalf in support of the extension of the President's authority to waive section 402 and specifically in favor of Romania.

ICEC has an office in Bucharest and a joint venture has just been formed with a Romanian trading company, IEC Danubia. Under this project, a joint venture company has been formed here in the United States. The joint venture company will help sell Romanian fertilizer chemicals, synthetic rubber, and allied products.

In addition, ICEC will be exporting phosphate rock, sulphur, phosphoric acid, and chemical products to Romania. The combined value of the products traded in both directions is expected to be about $100 million a year. Since the joint venture is for 10 years, it represents a potential of $1 billion in trade between the two nations.

This increased export trade will benefit the companies involved, of course, but it will also benefit the U.S. economy and the U.S. business community.

As Senator Stevenson stated in an article appearing in the July 14 issue of Business America, "Exports support at least 10 million jobs in the United States, and each additional $1 billion in exports creates another 40,000 to 50,000 jobs."

For those reasons, and as more fully set forth in my submitted testimony, ICEC fully supports the extension of the treatment.

Thank you.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Thank you very much.

Mr. Stephen Gans.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN GANS, PRESIDENT, VITCO

Mr. **Gans**. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to read a couple of closing paragraphs of my formal statement.

I wish to observe that the question under consideration is not whether MFN status should be granted to Romania for the first time, but rather, whether such status which has already been granted will be continued.

In view of this circumstance, failure to endorse continued MFN status might be considered by the Romanians as an undeserved rebuke of a good trading partner and as a substantial diminution of our desire to encourage Romania to develop cordial relations with the United States.

If interpreted in this manner, the failure to endorse continued MFN status for Romania would have undesirable ramifications going far beyond mere questions of trade.

Finally, I would like to note that our small business has been dealing with Romania on a steadily increasing basis for about 7 years. During this period, I have traveled frequently to Romania, and have become acquainted with many of their business people. I am pleased to report that in general I have found the Romanians with whom I have dealt to be progressive, hard-working, and open-minded.

I genuinely believe that it is in our national interest to encourage Romania to continue to strengthen its economic ties with the United States, and that continued MFN status for Romania will go a long way in that direction.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I have no questions.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you, gentlemen.

[The prepared statements of the preceding panel follow:]

STATEMENT
on the
CONTINUATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S WAIVER AUTHORITY
UNDER TITLE IV OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974
before the
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
of the
SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
for the
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES
by
Donald J. Hasfurther
July 21, 1980

Mr. Chairman, I am Donald J. Hasfurther, director for East-West trade of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. I welcome this opportunity to testify on behalf of the Chamber in favor of continuing most-favored-nation tariff status for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. With me today is my colleague from the Chamber, Robert Aronson, associate director for East-West trade.

The Chamber is the largest business federation in this country. Its membership consists of over 93,000 small, medium, and large businesses; more than 1,300 trade associations; over 2,700 state and local chambers of commerce; and 44 American chambers of commerce overseas. In the East-West trade area, the U.S. Chamber currently administers bilateral economic councils with five East European nations, including Romania and Hungary. These councils are composed of senior executives of firms and trade associations representing a broad cross section of the American economy committed to the improvement of bilateral commercial relations with their respective trading partners in Eastern Europe.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce supports the extension of the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, thereby allowing for the continuation for an additional year of most-favored-nation (MFN) status. We believe that the waiver extension will further contribute to the creation of a stable and viable commercial relationship with Romania, Hungary, and China. Consequently, we urge that the waiver for these countries be continued.

ROMANIA

In the five-year period since Congress first supported the Section 402 waiver, U.S.-Romanian trade has recorded substantial yearly increases. In 1975, two-way trade totaled $322 million; in 1979, the bilateral trade turnover amounted to $830 million, an increase of 25 percent over the previous year's total. We have also witnessed a reversal in 1979 of the previous year's unfavorable balance of trade. Whereas the United States had a deficit balance of trade with Romania in 1978, we recorded a positive trade balance last year of $171 million. The first-four-month figures this year suggest that 1980 will witness a continuation of this trade growth. Ranking American and Romanian government officials and leading members of both our business communities have identified a trade turnover of $1 billion as a desirable goal. We feel confident that our bilateral trade volume will surpass the $1 billion mark in 1980, provided that a normalized trading relationship is continued with Romania.

Romania has recently published its five-year plan for economic development for the 1981-1985 period. The plan identifies priority sectors of the Romanian economy. Of particular interest to many members of the U.S. business community is the intention of Romania to achieve energy independence by 1990. The attainment of this goal will require large-scale capital investments in the energy field, a sector in which the United States is extremely competitive internationally.

American business has realized substantive benefits from Romania in the period since the trading relationship was first normalized. U.S. firms are guaranteed treatment on no less favorable terms than are accorded to firms of other foreign countries in establishing offices, including the obtaining of office and housing accommodations and the hiring of personnel. American firms have been granted increased latitude in contacting producers and end-users. Romania has adopted rules for commercial conciliation which provide an additional mechanism for the official, inexpensive, and non-contentious resolution of commercial disputes. Also, the bilateral trade agreement provides that the two countries shall engage in consultations in order to eliminate either actual or potential instances of market disruption. Romania has furthermore become increasingly forthcoming in providing the information required to enable American firms to make informed and responsible business decisions.

HUNGARY

In the two-year period since Congress first supported the Section 402 waiver for Hungary, trade has increased in a modest, yet stable, fashion. More importantly, we feel that the climate in which business is conducted between our two countries has improved substantially.

The United States experienced its first trade deficit with Hungary in 1979. We regard this development as testimony to the diversity and quality of Hungarian goods marketed in the United States. We also view this negative trade balance as presenting the American business community with a considerable challenge.

We hope that certain recent developments will signal the reversal of this negative balance. The impending start of the new five-year plan suggests that goods and technologies from Western sources will be required for priority economic sectors. Recent economic reforms in Hungary place greater emphasis than had previously been the case on qualitative and performance criteria in making import decisions, which we think will work to the benefit of the U.S. exporter. Further, we believe that the opening of a representation office of the National City Bank of Minneapolis in Budapest, as well as the establishment of the Central European Bank (in which West European and Japanese banks own a two-thirds interest), will provide a measure of trade expertise and hard currency funding for Western exporters. Therefore, we regard the continuation of the President's waiver authority as an important prerequisite to placing U.S. firms in a competitive position with their foreign counterparts operating in the Hungarian market.

We are encouraged by reports of progress made by the Joint U.S.-Hungarian Economic and Commercial Committee toward the resolution of a commercial dispute involving American agricultural chemical producers. We believe this progress illustrates the desire on the part of both sides to resolve problems affecting trade relations. We urge international respect for industrial property rights and, consequently, will continue to watch this situation closely in the future.

The importance of our commercial relationship with Hungary has been repeatedly confirmed during this past year by high-level governmental exchanges. This past April, Deputy Minister Torok participated in the Joint U.S.-Hungarian Economic and Commercial Committee meeting in Washington. The Committee was organized last year to promote trade and economic cooperation.

Secretary of Commerce Klutznick's visit to Budapest last May further emphasized the desire of the United States to strengthen its trading relationship with Hungary.

Unlike some of the other East European nations, Hungary has an effective tariff system. Its tariff is far more than a bookkeeping mechanism; Hungarian firms must absorb the duty on imports from abroad. Without most-favored-nation tariff treatment, U.S. companies would be at a distinct disadvantage in marketing their goods in Hungary. Denial of MFN to Hungary would constitute a backward step in a period when our country is making a concerted effort to expand its trade abroad.

CHINA

U.S. trade with the People's Republic of China has expanded significantly in the past year. Even though fully normalized trade and commercial relations were not in effect during 1979, U.S.-Chinese trade doubled to $2.3 billion from its 1978 level. The United States also enjoyed a substantial trade surplus last year of over $1.1 billion. The United States currently stands as China's third largest trading partner.

In February of this year, a delegation from the U.S. Chamber, headed by Chamber president Dr. Richard L. Lesher, visited China. The purpose of the trip was to determine what role the Chamber might play in the trade normalization process. To that end, the delegation met with officials of ministries and organizations responsible for the supervision of China's foreign trade and economic development. These meetings culminated in a lengthy meeting with Vice Premier Kan Shihen.

The Chamber's delegation left the People's Republic with several predominant impressions. First, the trip occurred a short time after the official extension of MFN status to China. The delegation felt that the extension of MFN created a favorable psychological impact on China, which will encourage the continued expansion of bilateral trade. Second, the delegation noted a desire by the Chinese to create a more favorable environment for Western business representatives. The Chinese were extremely eager to absorb as much information as possible from the Chamber delegation, particularly in the areas of dispute settlement procedures and the creation of a more favorable environment for foreign investors. Third, the delegation sensed a strong desire on the part of the Chinese to strengthen their commercial ties specifically with the United States. The Chinese hold American products and technology in high regard and have expressed a keen desire to purchase them if feasible.

The commitment of China to economic modernization requires that it continue to expand its trading relationship with the West. China's foreign trade rose nearly 40 percent in 1979 over the previous year. Last year, China promulgated its joint venture law which permits foreign equity ownership rather than solely minority equity participation. Several joint ventures have already been concluded with U.S. firms pursuant to this legislation. China has furthered its integration into the world economy through its recent membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The U.S. National Exhibition, scheduled for November 1980 in Peking, will provide more than 200 U.S. firms with a good opportunity to explore the potentials of the Chinese market. The continuation of the President's waiver authority will contribute to the ability of the U.S. business community to participate competitively in China.

CONCLUSION

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States supports the renewal of the President's waiver request under Section 402 for Romania, Hungary, and China. Renewal will demonstrate the determination of the United States to broaden its commercial relations with those countries and will contribute to overall U.S. export competitiveness in Romania, Hungary, and China.

STATEMENT BY
PRESTON BROWN, ESQ.
CURTIS, MALLET-PREVOST, COLT & MOSLE
ON BEHALF OF
INTERNATIONAL COMMODITIES EXPORT COMPANY
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

JULY 21, 1980

My name is Preston Brown and I am a partner in the law firm of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle. With me is former Senator Clifford P. Case, now counsel to our firm. We act as counsel to the International Commodities Export Company (ICEC), White Plains, New York, a major exporter of fertilizers, fertilizer raw materials and allied products. Mr. Emil S. Finley, President of ICEC, has asked us to appear on the company's behalf in support of continuing Romania's MFN status.

ICEC's exports run close to one quarter of a billion dollars per annum. Over the past ten years, ICEC has done considerable export business with Romania. ICEC's largest annual export to that country is U.S. calcined phosphate rock which runs to approximately half a million tons. There are good prospects that, within the next year or so, ICEC can possibly add to those exports several hundred thousand tons of U.S. crude phosphate rock.

In this connection, the company has recently established its own branch office in Bucharest headed by a Romanian senior executive. In addition, after two years of lengthy negotiation, it has entered earlier this year into a joint venture with a Romanian trading organization, ICE Danubiana. Under this joint venture, ICEC formed a joint venture company, Amrochem, Inc., headquartered in White Plains, New York. Present at the signing, in Washington, of the agreement covering these activities were, among others, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation of Romania, Mr. Cornel Burtica, as well as Secretary of Commerce of the U.S., Mr. Klutznick.

The joint venture company will help sell Romanian fertilizer, chemicals, synthetic rubber and its allied products. In addition to the phosphate rock mentioned above, ICEC expects to sell U.S. produced sulphur, phosphoric acid and chemicals to Romania. The combined value of these products shipped in both directions each year is estimated at about $100 million. The joint venture is for ten years, thus representing a potential of $1 billion trade in both directions.

This increased export trade will of course benefit the companies participating in it - but it will also benefit the U.S. economy and the U.S. worker. Senator Stevenson, in an article appearing in the July 14, 1980 issue of Business America, states that exports "support at least 10 million jobs in the United States, and each additional billion dollars in exports creates another 40,000 to 50,000 jobs."*

It is clear that Romania is a good trading partner for the U.S. and if we wish to continue to expand our exports to Romania, we have to make it possible for Romania to earn dollars with which to purchase our goods. It is for this reason that ICEC is in favor of continuing the most favored nation status to Romania.

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*Removing the Obstacles to American Exports, Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, Business America, July 14, 1980, U.S. Department of Commerce, p.1.

TESTIMONY OF SIMON CHILEWICH, PRESIDENT CHILEWICH CORPORATION, NEW YORK, TO BE PRESENTED BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, JULY 21, 1980

My name is Simon Chilewich. I am President of Chilewich Corporation of New York City. I would like to express my distinct pleasure of being able to testify before this Committee, both as a citizen deeply concerned with the international posture of the United States as well as a businessman sensitive to the importance of trade as it affects international relations. As a citizen travelling extensively abroad, I regret that our country, in relation to its size, capability, and technology, is generally not commensurately participating in world trade. As a businessman I regret that our trade relations are often kept hostage to political objectives.

Trade developments between the United States and other countries should be promoted and encouraged in our own self interest, as indeed they could bring a positive influence on our own and even world political relations. Stifling of trade for political objectives is likely to be counterproductive because, in addition to economic distortion, it unavoidably provokes anger and recriminations.

The consummation of any business transaction requires as a priori the agreement and good will of two parties and thus, in addition to economic benefits, has the potential of providing a link toward better political understanding. I submit that trade with Romania is indeed a case in point.

Most Favored Nation treatment, accorded to Romania, has contributed not only to the development of trade between our countries but also has influenced cultural and political understandings.

My company is involved in the hide business, which is the raw material for leather. Exports of hides from the United States to Romania in 1979 amounted to some $60 million. In terms of our gross national product, it is not overwhelming. It does, however, represent some 7% of our overall exports of hides and, therefore, provides an important economic contribution to the cattle and beef industry of this country, and a necessary outlet for an agricultural by-product produced in surplus to our own requirements.

I would like to urge you, Mr. Chairman, and your Committee, to recommend the extension of the Most Favored Nation treatment to Romania as I am convinced that this is in our best national interest.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN GANS

PRESIDENT OF VITCO, DIVISION OF VITREOUS INTERNATIONAL TRADING COMPANY, INC.

BEFORE THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN SUPPORT OF THE CONTINUATION OF MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS FOR ROMANIA

I am Stephen Gans, President of Vitco, Division of Vitreous International Trading Co., Inc. and whose business volume with Romania will approximate $10,000,000 of window glass, wood products and ship chartering.

I wish, respectfully, to urge the adoption of continued most favored national (MFN) status for Romania. MFN status for Romania makes sense from many different standpoints and has several significant advantages to the United States with virtually no material detriments.

For example, it is certainly in our national interest to assist this east European country in its attempts to obtain increasing measures of freedom from external influences on its economic and political life. MFN status contributes to this important objective by encouraging Romania in its trade with us and by according Romania greater access to the marketplace in the United States. Such trade, however, is by no means one-sided. Indeed, at a time when there is great sensitivity over balance of payment questions, it is refreshing to observe that Romania continues to import at a greater rate from the Untied States than it exports, thereby stimulating American commerce, industry and employment. In addition, the Romanian products which we import are used principally in the construction industry, an industry beset with inflationary pressures. These products, of necessity, would cost the American consumer more if an increased duty had to be absorbed.

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I also wish to observe that the question under consideration is not whether MFN status should be granted to Romania for the first time but, rather, whether such status which has already been granted should be continued. In view of this circumstance, a failure to endorse continued MFN status might be considered by the Romanians as an undeserved rebuke of a good trading partner and as a substantial diminution of our desire to encourage Romania's developing cordial relations with the United States. If interpreted in this manner, the failure to endorse continued MFN status for Romania could have undesirable ramifications going far beyond mere questions of trade.

Finally, I would like to note that our small business has been dealing with Romania on a steadily increasing basis for about seven years. During this period, I have traveled frequently to Romania and have become acquainted with many of their business people. I am pleased to report that, in general, I have found the Romanians with whom I have dealt to be progressive, hardworking, and open-minded. I genuinely believe that it is in our national interest to encourage Romania to continue to strengthen its economic ties to the United States and that continued MFN status for Romania will go a long way in that direction.

Thank you for your courteous attention.

Senator RIBICOFF. The final panel, Mr. László Hámos, the Reverend Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, and Mr. deKun.

STATEMENT OF LÁSZLÓ HÁMOS, CHAIRMAN, THE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Mr. HÁMOS. Mr. Chairman, my name is László Hámos, and I represent the Committee for Human Rights in Romania, a volunteer organization of young Hungarian Americans which was formed in 1976 to speak on behalf of the approximately 1 million U.S. citizens of Hungarian origin.

This is the fifth occasion on which I am appearing before this subcommittee to testify on this matter. I understand that this is also the last occasion on which you will be chairing this session, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your repeated and consistent expressions of concern for human rights improvements in Romania over the years.

On every occasion during the past 5 years, Mr. Chairman, we have presented a well-founded, detailed, factual body of evidence documenting the campaign of forced assimilation which the Romanian Government wages against its minority citizens, in violation of the Rules of International Law. Unfortunately, from year to year, we have had little reason to revise our written testimony. It was sufficient to merely update it with the latest abuses.

Our efforts and all the lip service paid to human rights by the Romanian Government notwithstanding, there has not been the slightest improvement in the treatment of Romania's national minorities.

In April of this year, a new dramatic piece of evidence underscored this fact in the form of a new letter written by Karoly Kiraly, the leading Hungarian dissident in Romania, to Prime Minister Ilia Verdet. You may recall that Mr. Kiraly is a former high-ranking official who was, among others, an alternate member of the Romania Politburo. He sacrificed his career and his well-being, he endangered his own and his family's life in order to speak out against the oppression of his fellow nationals.

Since 1978, Mr. Kiraly's protest letters have appeared in major newspapers throughout the world, and he has since that time been exiled, vilified. He lives under constant police surveillance and harassment. He lives under virtual house arrest.

In his new protest letter, which is annexed in its entirety to our written statement, Mr. Kiraly asserts that instead of any improvement, the situation of Romania's minorities has only deteriorated in the past years. According to Mr. Kiraly, and I quote:

> In the area of education, the opportunity for children to study in their native tongue has narrowed even further—In the higher levels of education, the situation is also continuously deteriorating. Nothing has changed for the better in the use of the native tongues of the national minorities. In the administration of justice, the state organs and so on, the only language permitted is Romanian.

Mr. Chairman, there is no need here and no time to read the entire letter. It speaks for itself. I quoted it merely to illustrate the manner in which Mr. Kiraly catalogs the most serious grievances of Romania's minorities.

Mr. Kiraly's principal position stands in stark contrast to the manner in which our diplomatic establishment has handled this issue. Infatuated, apparently, with Mr. Ceausescu, it uses evasion and doublespeak to sidestep the evidence of human rights violations and to whitewash the record of the Romanian regime.

It is noteworthy, for example, that the only positive statement which the State Department can make this year, as in every year in the past, is the Romanian Government's alleged, and I quote, "willingness to discuss various aspects of human rights questions, including such sensitive matters as the treatment of the Hungarian minorities."

These discussions have dragged on and on for years now, without the slightest actual improvement. Apparently, our State Department is satisfied with empty talks which lack any concrete result whatsoever.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that there have been no concrete improvements in the situation of Romania's minorities, we feel that more forceful action is needed. We are convinced that the wanton disregard of international law by the Romanian Government, its systematic abuse of fundamental human rights comprises more than ample basis to warrant at least a temporary cut-off of its most favored nation trading status.

Senator RIBICOFF. Thank you very much.

Reverend Havadtoy?

STATEMENT OF REV. DR. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY, ON BEHALF OF THE HUNGARIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN CONNECTICUT, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE WORLD REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN ALLIANCE, NORTH AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN AREA

Mr. **Havadtoy**. My name is Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, pastor of the Calvin United Church of Christ in Fairfield, Conn.

As a Connecticut citizen, I wish to express our deep sorrow over your retirement, sir. You have been a great help to us and your services have been invaluable to our Hungarian-American community.

Senator **Ribicoff**. I am just curious, Dr. Havadtoy. Thank you for your gracious comments. Does the Hungarian Government itself directly or indirectly ever intervene in behalf of Hungarians in Romania? What is your understanding?

Mr. **Havadtoy**. Unfortunately, they have tried a few times, but they are not allowed. The Russians would not allow them to intervene on behalf of the Hungarians. This is a very sensitive issue, and if they bring up ethnic issues in Romania, the Russians are afraid that their whole ethnic problem, which is far more serious than in any other country in the world, will come to the fore.

So, the Hungarians are under strict Russian orders not to bring it up—and this is the reason that we have to bring this issue up every year before you, because you are the only forum which is willing to listen to us and to the plight of the Hungarians in Romania.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Do Hungarians find their way from Romania into Hungary, what is Hungary proper now? Do they leave to join relatives or friends? Do many emigrate?

Mr. **Havadtoy**. There are some. Some intellectuals are let out from Romania to Hungary lately. We are not too overjoyed over this fact, because they are weakening the 2½ to 3 million Hungarian community in Romania. We have less and less intellectuals, because the young people are not allowed to go to universities.

So, for example, doctors are allowed to go, a few writers, artists, actors, and actresses do go to Hungary, but even this weakens the status of the Hungarians in Romania.

Senator **Ribicoff**. What if a Hungarian, ethnic Hungarian now in Romania proper, entered without a visa or permission into Hungary? Would the Hungarian authorities send him back to Romania, or would they keep him?

Mr. **Havadtoy**. Probably they would send him back.

Senator **Ribicoff**. They would send him back.

Mr. **Havadtoy**. It is almost impossible to leave. They are allowed to get a visa only every other year, even to Hungary, the Hungarians in Romania.

Mr. **Hámos**. It is treated just like any other Western country, and I might add that in terms of visits by Hungarians from Hungary to Romania, there are serious curtailments. The Romanian Government has instituted a measure which does not permit those relatives from Hungary who try to visit in Romania from doing so, and all except the most immediate relatives cannot be accommodated in private homes.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, the Iron Curtain really works on the border.

Mr. HAVADTOY. Exactly, sir.

Mr. HÁMOS. It is a very surprising thing in terms of the fact that these are two supposedly socialist brother countries.

Senator RIBICOFF. In other words, even now, there is no comity at all between the two countries, even if they say, well, let them come and visit their relatives, and we will see that they get back. They don't encourage or don't permit the visits, or they restrict them? How do they handle the visits? They allow them to go, but keep them on a tight leash?

Mr. HAVADTOY. That is corrrect.

Mr. HÁMOS. That is correct. Hungary is treated as any other Western nation in terms of permits to either visit or to emigrate. Of course, the Hungarian minority is not primarily concerned with its right to emigrate. It is more concerned with its ability to enjoy its own human rights within their own ancestral homeland, which is the Transylvania region.

Mr. HAVADTOY. It is a matter of survival.

Senator RIBICOFF. So, basically what you've got here, you've got Russian policy, Soviet policy as a determining factor between the Hungarians, Romanians, and everything.

Mr. HAVADTOY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. Chairman, I testified before the Subcommittee on International Trade last summer and two summers ago, concerning the refusal of the Romanian Government to allow aid from western churches for the repair and reconstruction of Hungarian churches in Romania damaged during the earthquake of March 4, 1977.

Many of these churches are historic and artistic monuments built by Hungarians many centuries ago, and the present neglect is clearly a part of the overall campaign by the Romanian Government to eradicate the Hungarian cultural heritage from that part of Europe.

Some of the earthquake-damaged churches have been restored, thanks to the forthright and forceful actions of the Swiss, West German, and Dutch Governments. Those countries pressured the Romanian Communist regime to allow the transmittal of church aid, money, and building materials for the repair and reconstruction of the earthquake-damaged Hungarian churches.

Unfortunately, we in the United States were not as successful with forwarding the aid collected in our churches and local communities. Instead of helping us, the State Department gave credence to the Romanian Government's allegation that Hungarian churches were not even damaged in the earthquake.

In responding to your, Mr. Chairman, inquiry, for example, the State Department merely repeated the Romanian Government's claim that, and I quote, "The earthquake which caused damage to several churches was in two precise regions of Romania, and did not hit Transylvania, the area where ethnic Hungarians and Germans live."

Senator RIBICOFF. Let me ask you, Reverend, has the Romanian Government allowed a church official from the United States to visit this area to determine whether this aid has been used to repair the churches?

Mr. HAVADTOY. As far as I know, no bishop from America has gone over there to examine these churches.

Senator RIBICOFF. No church official?

Mr. HAVADTOY. Church officials, yes.

Senator RIBICOFF. No one?

Mr. HAVADTOY. No one.

Senator RIBICOFF. Have you asked to go?

Mr. HAVADTOY. Yes. Yes, we asked.

Senator RIBICOFF. What happened?

Mr. HAVADTOY. What happened was that they sent out their delegation.

Senator RIBICOFF. The State Department?

Mr. HAVADTOY. No, the Romanians.

Senator RIBICOFF. The Romanians?

Mr. HAVADTOY. Lately, the Committee on Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee staff conducted a study visit to Romania to observe conditions in the Hungarian minority population. This was this spring, and they came back with their report, and I don't know if——

Senator RIBICOFF. I don't follow you. Hungarians from the United States churches have gone?

Mr. HAVADTOY. No——

Senator RIBICOFF. Are you from the Romanian desk, sir? Let me ask you, is there any reason why Americans of Hungarian background who have given this money, have raised this money from their own church groups for the repair of the churches in Romania, why they can't be allowed to go to Romania itself to observe firsthand what has happened with their funds?

Mr. TUMMINIA. Mr. Chairman, they would have to apply for permission to go. The requirements would be established for the visa, but they could apply to go to Romania.

Senator RIBICOFF. Well, I mean, you have made it possible by pressure from here to allow representatives of Jewish groups to go to Romania for observations and conversations. I am at a loss to understand why you don't intervene if there is such a request made by Americans, American churchmen who have gathered funds and sent them over there, to observe whether these funds have actually been used for the repair of those churches.

I don't know what objection there could be to that.

Mr. TUMMINIA. I don't know of any request that has been made.

Senator RIBICOFF. I would say, Reverend, if you would get in touch with Mr. Foster, this gentleman here, if you are interested in going, as representatives of your church are interested. I am not telling you to go unless you want to go, but as representatives of your church.

Mr. HAVADTOY. Mr. Chairman, we have our contacts with the Hungarian churches there, our own private contacts, so we are well versed on——

Senator RIBICOFF. Then you know what is going on.

Mr. HAVADTOY. Yes, we know exactly what is going on. If we go to the Hungarian Reformed bishop in Transylvania, for example, then we are turned down, because that bishop was not elected by the churches. He was appointed by the Romanian Government.

For example, this subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee went to him, to the bishop, and asked, what about the damaged churches? He said, all the churches are repaired. Then the American staff said to him, but what about, for example, the church in Zabala? That is a gothic church in Zabala. What happened? We were there, and we saw that the church was not repaired. And then the bishop said, oh, that is an exception. That is true. Then he withdrew.

In other words, if we go to the church officials, then we are turned down. We have to be in contact with the local churches and communities. For example, my church, the Calvin United Church of Christ, and the Calvin Synod of the United Church of Christ, sent $10,000 to the bishop last January, but the money was not received and not forwarded to the local churches for the repair.

Senator **Ribicoff**. Well, of course, now you've got an internal problem as to who you send the money to.

Mr. **Havadtoy**. The difference is, Mr. Chairman, that the Swiss Government, the West German Government, the Dutch Government are able to transmit church funds to Romania, because they are pressuring the Romanian Government. The State Department here is giving credence to the Romanian Government's allegations that there was no damage over there and funds are not necessary, or just send through the official channels and they will receive the money, and of course they are never received.

But the Swiss Government or the West German Government succeeded in rebuilding Hungarian Reformed Churches in Transylvania.

Senator **Ribicoff**. What do you want to say about that? That is quite an indictment of the State Department, that the Swiss and the West Germans can bring pressure to transmit the funds of their nationals to repair the churches in Transylvania, but the American Government can't? That seems strange to me.

Mr. **Havadtoy**. If I may explain it to you, sir. We give them most-favored-nation treatment—this is a blank check for a whole year—expecting that they will do something for us. This is not the way business is being done in that part of the world. It is always a quid pro quo. We are giving you something, but you must give something first. If the Romanians are willing to make a concession, then a trade agreement or some other concession is made by the Western country.

Senator **Ribicoff**. If you have specific funds that you have sent to a certain church in a certain community, and you have never had a report on it, if you would give the specifics to Mr. Foster, we would follow up with the State Department.

Mr. **Havadtoy**. We have given them. For example, last year, before Counselor Nimetz went to Romania, we had given him all he details or facts about aid that was sent to certain local hurches or certain communities, and also the exact amount. He ame back and said, "Well, I was not totally informed, and in discussing with my Romanian counterparts, I had to come to the onclusion that much more investigation has to be done about his."

Senator **Ribicoff**. What is the size of our Embassy staff in Romaia? Do you know?

Mr. Tumminia. Yes, we have about 35 Americans in the Embassy in Romania.

Senator Ribicoff. It would seem to me that it would be a very interesting trip for somebody on that staff to go through Transylvania—he might find it very informative, and he would learn a little bit about the country—to check up on some of this.

Mr. Tumminia. Our embassy officers have traveled to the area which Reverend Havadtoy has mentioned, and we have taken pictures of some of the churches which we have forwarded to you, as a matter of fact, and to Reverend Havadtoy, showing that these churches have been repaired.

Mr. Havadtoy. Yes; it is true that some churches were repaired. For example, the State Department reported to me that, for example, a church in Pachia was repaired and restored, and we knew about this. It was restored and rebuilt by the Swiss church communities, called the Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirchen der Schweiz, and with the help of the Swiss Government. They were able to rebuild the whole church.

But we couldn't send our money, because the State Department is always defending the Romanians, or giving an excuse for the Romanian Government why they are still not able to accept our help. They are saying, oh, that is a communistic and bureaucratic government, and we have to show them more understanding, and this is the kind of attitude that the State Department is taking. This is the reason that we are not successful in transmitting the funds.

Senator Ribicoff. Doctor, when this is over, if you would talk with Mr. Foster and Mr. Luchs and a member of Senator Dole's staff, set up an appointment with our respective staffs, our personal staffs, and our committee staff with the State Department covering Romania, to go over the details for specifics, and see if we can't get more information.

Is that all right with you, Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. Right; also, if they could give us any indication whether or not we have had any change since the Helsinki Final Act was approved in 1975. I am a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I am not certain whether we have much of an impact, but we are talking about going to Madrid in November, which I question, but in any event, that is another area we might pursue.

Mr. Hámos. The short answer, to answer that question briefly, is, "no," there has been no change in the situation since the signing of the Helsinki accords. Our group has submitted testimony to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of which you are a member, Senator Dole. We would be most encouraged if the issue were brought up at the Madrid conference this fall, but we are, as I say, dismayed to note that there has been in effect no change in the situation.

The Helsinki Final Act has had an impact in terms of encouraging or providing an atmosphere which encourages dissent in Romania by Hungarians who are concerned about the situation, but in terms of an actual concrete improvement, there has been none.

[The prepared statements of Mr. Hámos and Reverend Havadtoy follow:]

STATEMENT
BY THE
COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA

SUPPLEMENTING THE
ORAL TESTIMONY
OF
LÁSZLÓ HÁMOS

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

AT HEARINGS

ON CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF TREATMENT OF IMPORTS FROM RUMANIA

COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA
POST OFFICE BOX J
GRACIE STATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028
(212) 289-5488

JULY 21, 1980

FOREWORD

The state of Rumania contains an immense minority population consisting of 2.5 million Hungarians, 400,000 Germans and a sizeable number of Ukrainians, Jews, Serbs, Greeks, Turks and others. The Hungarians alone comprise the largest national minority in Europe. Most of these peoples live in Transylvania which is one of Europe's most significant multi-ethnic regions. Were enlightened 20th Century standards applied, Transylvania could be a model for the coexistence of diverse nationalities in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and understanding. However, under the rule of Rumania's current dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, nothing could be further from the truth.

For the past two decades this enormous minority population has been the object of a carefully planned, systematic and aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation -- a campaign which amounts to cultural genocide. This outrage must be borne in addition to the usual intolerance and terror which affects the life of every citizen of a Communist state, regardless of ethnic origin.

Alarmed at the arrogant brutality of this campaign, young Hungarian-Americans gathered in February 1976 to form the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, an organization which soon won support by all major associations of the approximately one million Hungarians in America. The Committee's objective is to alert the public opinion and political leadership of the United States to the gross discrimination and human rights violations against national minorities in Rumania.

We are encouraged by the wide-ranging response to our efforts during the past five years. Since the Summer of 1978 the world press and public opinion have awakened to the severe plight of these minorities, and U.S. Congressional support for effective measures against Rumania's discriminatory policies has grown.

Another important development is the ever-increasing number of reports and documents written and smuggled out of Rumania which provide irrefutable evidence of the government's campaign of forced assimilation. The Committee regularly receives and analyzes such primary source materials and has published a selection of dissident works in a volume entitled Witnesses to Cultural Genocide: First-Hand Reports on Rumania's Minority Policies Today (New York, 1979). Copies of this book have been distributed to the Members of Congress, and the material it contains will be cited throughout the statement which follows.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

STATEMENT...1

The Relevance of the Minority Question to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.....................................1

On the Right of Free Emigration...............................2

The President's Message of May 28, 1980 Does Not Fulfill the Requirements of the Trade Act............3

Continued Campaign of Harassment and Intimidation Against Károly Király....................................4

The True Nature of the Ceausescu Regime Versus Its "Public Relations" Image.........................8

Minority Oppression Is a Matter of International Concern Per Se.............................10

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA.....................................12

SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA.....................................18

1. Discrimination In Elementary and High School Education................................18

2. Discrimination In Higher Education........................24

3. Dissolution of Compact Minority Communities and Dispersion of Ethnic Professionals...............................29

4. Lack of Bilingualism......................................31

5. Curtailment of Cultural Opportunities.....................34

6. Falsification of Population Statistics....................40

7. Confiscation of Church Archives...........................43

8. Harassment of Churches....................................46

9. Bans On Private Lodging...................................48

10. Falsification of History.................................49

CONCLUSION..51

APPENDIX

LETTER FROM KÁROLY KIRÁLY TO PRIME MINISTER ILIE VERDET, DATED FEBRUARY 10, 1980......................A-1

STATEMENT

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania respectfully requests that the United States Senate, using the authority granted by section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act of 1974, adopt a resolution disapproving the extension of the President's authority to waive the application of section 402(a) and (b) with respect to Rumania.

Our request is based on two grounds:

1. The President's message of May 28, 1980 recommending extension of the above waiver authority is seriously deficient in fulfilling the requirements of section 402(d)(5) of the Trade Act.

2. The Rumanian Government continuously and flagrantly violates norms of international law in its treatment of national minorities, which violations, according to the proper interpretation of section 402 of the Trade Act, mandate at least a temporary suspension of the Trade benefits accorded to Rumania.

* * *

The Relevance of the Minority Question to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment

One obstacle facing us at the hearings conducted by this Subcommittee during the past four years has been an effort to restrict the human rights concerns of the Trade Act to as narrow a field as possible. Some Members of Congress have argued that the only right which the Jackson-Vanik Amendment intends to promote is freedom of emigration. There are others who have remained oblivious even to this right.

But the fact that the Amendment was intended to cover far more than simply one particular human right is obvious from its text. Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 clearly states its objectives in the first half-sentence: "To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights..." The section then defines the means for achieving these objectives as follows: nonmarket-economy countries are required to allow free emigration as a condition for the extension of trade benefits. The distinction between the means (requirement of free emigration) and the ends (fundamental human rights) is unmistakable.

This interpretation of the purpose of the Amendment is supported by grammatical evidence as well. The authentic language of the Trade Act uses the plural "objectives of this section" wherever such reference is made. Of the phrases "fundamental human rights" and "freedom of emigration", only the former is plural. The expression "objectives of this section" clearly refers back to the plural antecedent in the section, which is "fundamental human rights".

Even if it rejects this interpretation, the Subcommittee cannot support its reluctance to examine a broader range of human rights with the claim that it is merely following the letter of the law, which strictly limits its mandate. If that claim were true, the only business of these hearings would be to determine whether the continuation of the waiver will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. Nevertheless, and perhaps with good reason, the Subcommittee interprets its mandate far more broadly, as any observer of these hearings will attest. It receives testimony on political, economic and financial questions which fall completely outside the scope of section 402. The Administration, business, trade union and private witnesses who testify about such questions are given serious consideration, and questioned in areas wholly irrelevant to section 402. The Subcommittee, therefore, is acting entirely within its rights if it examines a broader range of human rights, beyond the right to emigrate -- especially since section 402 begins with the words, quoted above: "To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights..."

On the Right of Free Emigration

The United States is a nation of immigrants. The right of free emigration is held in very high esteem here. There is even a tendency to regard it as the most important of all human rights, the one which can be substituted for all others. The latter view, in our opinion, is severely distorted. We contend that the right to emigrate is merely a right of last resort; it is an escape chute to be used when all other measures to uphold human rights have failed. When people reach the point of clamoring to emigrate en masse from their homeland, there is clear evidence that deeper problems are to blame.

It should be noted here that the right of Jewish people to emigrate to Israel is unique in character and rationale. While they too are most often escaping persecution and undoubtedly experience difficulties in adjusting to a new environment, they still leave with the joyful idea of returning to their ancient homeland.

The situation of the national minorities in Rumania is entirely different. Hungarians have lived in this area of Eastern Europe for eleven centuries; this region is their homeland. Instead of allowing or urging or forcing them to leave, they should be aided in their struggle to use their own language, maintain their own culture, practice their own religion -- in short to gain some protection against discrimination and gross violations of their human rights.

Certainly, Rumania's burning human rights problems cannot be successfully tackled through the simple device of easing restrictions on emigration. Even for the remaining Jewish population, estimated between 50,000 and 100,000, this measure would provide only a partial solution. Those who wish to might be permitted to leave for Israel, but those who elect to stay are also entitled to protection to their cultural and religious rights.

The President's Message of May 28, 1980 Does Not Fulfill the Requirements of the Trade Act

The President's recommendation of May 28, 1980 falls far short of satisfying the requirements of section (d)(5)(C) of the Trade Act. Specifically, the message nowhere shows the manner in which the proposed waiver will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 with respect to Rumania.

Even if the objectives of the section were restricted solely to the right of free emigration, the message fails to substantiate its claim. The rate of emigration from Rumania has remained clearly unsatisfactory according to Jewish organizations who monitor it closely. Moreover, Rumania's capricious behavior in the field of human rights during the past twelve months shows that the only lesson which the Rumanians learned from last year's extension of the waiver authority was that neither the Administration nor the Congress takes the objectives of section 402 very seriously.

In sum we maintain that the shortcomings of the President's recommendation in fulfilling the statutory

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requirements are serious enough to warrant its disapproval by the House of Representatives.

Continued Campaign of Harassment and Intimidation Against Károly Király

Since the Summer of 1978, instead of taking measures to improve the country's human rights record, the Rumanian government has waged a campaign of pressure and intimidation against Károly Király, a former high-ranking Party member who has become a fearless internal opponent of minority oppression. The official reaction to Király's moderate and reasonable efforts is highly indicative of the government's overall treatment of national minorities. Before turning to a point-by-point description of that treatment, a brief review of the Kiraly case is in order.

During the Summer and Fall of 1977, Károly Király, a prominent Hungarian in the Rumanian Communist Party and until 1972, an alternate member of its Politburo, wrote three letters to top Party leaders, describing government efforts to denationalize and forcefully assimilate the country's Hungarian minority of 2.5 million. Király cited a host of discriminatory and oppressive measures: the refusal to grant national minorities a representative voice in government, the implementation of "restrictive quotas" denying employment opportunities to minority workers, the forced assimilation of schools and classes offering instruction in the minority languages, the "naming of non-Hungarian speaking, Rumanian mayors" in cities "inhabited predominantly by Hungarians", the prohibition on use of minority languages in public institutions and administrative offices, and a variety of restrictions on minority cultural expression.

In one of his letters, Király also assailed the "violence and torture" used against minority inhabitants and recalled that "the harassment of Jenő Szikszai, the eminent professor from Brasso, drove him to commit suicide." (Szikszai was one of the scores who fell victim to a brutal and bloody government effort carried out in the Spring of 1977; its aim was to silence Hungarian intellectuals in Rumania by "exposing" them as members of an allegedly chauvinistic conspiracy detrimental to the interests of the Rumanian state. See Letter to Ferdinánd Nagy, by Zoltán Zsuffa, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp.179-182.)

Király's only remaining position in the government bureaucracy at the time he wrote his letters was that of Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council. In March 1978 he was deprived of that position as well. In the past, he had held various positions as First Party Secretary in Covasna County and head of the People's Council there, member of the Party Central Committee and alternate member of the Politburo, member of the Grand National Assembly (parliament) and member of the Council of State, nominally the supreme body of state power in Rumania. At one of the high points in his career, in 1970, he was a member of the delegation which accompanied President Ceausescu to the Lenin Centenary Celebrations held in Moscow. His last post at the head of the Hungarian population's highest political organ gave him an excellent vantage point from which to assess the extent of minority oppression and the window-dressing nature of his own organization, which is supposed to represent the interests of the Hungarian minority.

Király wrote his first letter, dated June 2, 1977, to Ilie Verdet, the Politburo member responsible for ideological matters and, among others, for nationality policies. (Since that time -- on March 29, 1979 -- Verdet has been elevated to the position of Prime Minister.) In the letter, he outlined the shallowness of his organization's activities, charged the government with hypocrisy in its official pronouncements that "the nationality question has been solved" and presented his own recommendations in 12 points.

Having failed to receive any response for several months, Király followed up with letters to two top Party leaders. The first was sent in August to János Fazekas, another Politburo member, and the second on September 10 to János Vincze, a member of the Central Committee. The tone of these subsequent letters was more bitter and the charges contained in them embraced the government's entire policy toward national minorities.

In early October 1977, Király was summoned to Bucharest. Instead of dealing seriously with the constructive proposals he had included in his letters, the Party leaders subjected him to intensive, police-style interrogations. He was accused of having no faith in the Party leadership and was pressed to reveal the names of his "collaborators". Finally realizing the futility of his well-meaning and constructive criticism, he consented to the publication of his letters in the Western media.

During the last week of January 1978, reports of Király's protest appeared in major newspapers throughout the world. Never in recent memory had this issue received such concentrated attention. The reaction of the Rumanian regime was predictable and swift. Instead of implementing long overdue reforms, it initiated a new campaign of terror. For several weeks Király's home town resembled an armed camp, with plainclothesmen, armed militiamen and armored cars stationed on every street. Király himself was threatened with death and with the killing of his infant child. He was pressured to disavow his letters and denounce them as "fabrications of the CIA and Radio Free Europe". Király held his ground with great courage and refused to withdraw his protest. As a result, in February he was exiled from his home town of Tirgu Mures (Hungarian Marosvásárhely) to the small town of Caransebes (Hungarian Karánsebes). Despite strict instructions to the contrary, on March 1, 1978 he granted an interview to three Western correspondents during which he reiterated his protest, supplementing it with further details about the reaction of the regime. In return, the Rumanian secret police prohibited Király from receiving any further visitors.

In October 1978, after threatening that he would apply to emigrate, Király was allowed to return to his home town. He has lived there since then, under close police surveillance. According to his own account, he is constantly harassed and intimidated by the authorities. He has been isolated from his friends, who are themselves subjected to severe questioning about him and threatened against trying to approach him. He is thus a virtual prisoner in his own house. Once, in the Fall of 1978, the window of the car in which he was riding was shattered by a gunshot. Though probably not an assassination attempt (Western interest in his case is still too intense) it was undoubtedly another effort to further intimidate him.

Unfortunately, the isolation and harassment, but especially his anxiety over the safety of his wife and small child, are taking their toll: according to his latest medical reports, Király's health has deteriorated significantly. The Rumanian government, not feeling sufficiently secure to eliminate Király outright, is slowly nudging him toward a "natural death". Király in the meantime, remains steadfast in refusing to compromise or abandon his principles. "I don't care if they make salami out of me, I still won't give up my thankless struggle," he wrote in a May 1979 letter. "But let them truly solve the problems and then I will be ready to write even a hundred articles withdrawing my protest". Realizing the seriousness of his position, Király ended the letter with the chilling comment that if the authorities in Bucharest find it impossible to spare his life, "all I ask is that they allow my family, my relatives and my friends to go on living".

On February 10, 1980 Károly Király sent another powerful letter of protest to Prime Minister Verdet. (Attached to this testimony as an appendix is an English-language translation of this letter.) In the letter Király reveals that following his initial protest in 1977, Verdet admitted that the Party had committed "mistakes" in the treatment of the minorities. In an obvious attempt to silence Király, Verdet promised to see to it that remedial steps would be instituted. After waiting two years for the implementation of these measures, Király now concludes that the Party leadership has broken its word and that "I am now compelled by these broken promises to raise this question again" (Appendix, p. A-1). In his letter he again summarizes the list of major abuses which Rumania's minorities suffer.

Károly Király, an individual of rare personal courage, has sacrificed his career and risked his well-being and perhaps his life, to express the plight of his 2.5 million fellow Hungarians in Rumania. Having spent many years in positions which enabled him to closely observe the Rumanian system, there can be no doubt about the authenticity of his charges. The persistent effort to ignore the issues he raised and to concentrate instead on silencing the source of protest serve as further damning evidence of the Rumanian goverment's callous disregard for human rights.

Since the initial Király protest, other knowledgeable and high-ranking sources within Rumania have also verified the existence of severe minority oppression. On April 24, 1978, the existence of three further protest documents written by prominent members of the Hungarian minority was revealed to Western journalists. First, a 7,000 word memorandum, including 18 separate demands for improved minority rights, had been prepared by Lajos Takács, professor of international law, candidate member of the Party Central Committee and -- as was Király before his removal in March -- Vice President of the Hungarian Nationality Workers Council. (As a result of his protest memorandum, in November 1979 Professor Takács was removed from his Party post. For a translation of the memorandum by Professor Takács, see Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 145-161.) Another protest, focusing on curtailment of Hungarian-language opportunities, had been sent by András Sütő, the best-known writer of the Hungarian minority and also a candidate member of the Central Committee. Finally, it was reported that János Fazekas, who as Deputy Prime Minister is the highest-ranking Hungarian minority official in Rumania, had also issued a personal appeal calling for improvements in nationality policies.

The True Nature of the Ceausescu Regime Versus Its "Public Relations" Image

Faced with mounting protests, Ceausescu has consistently reverted to his standard cure-all: more propaganda. But, as Károly Király has noted, the flowery verbiage is merely a device used to cover up gross deficiencies (Letter to János Vincze, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p.174): "these beautiful speeches, incorporating so many sound principles were not made for our sake, but to serve the purposes of propaganda, especially propaganda directed abroad...the chasm between theory and practice is vast and in reality while one thing is said, entirely different things are done."

Why has Ceausescu chosen to generate massive, new doses of propaganda instead of implementing even the most minimal reforms? Though simple, the answer is saddening: thus far, such propaganda has proved more effective. Until recently, the impact of sly misinformation, designed to cover up vast deficiencies, has had a remarkable effect in disarming the American media and many Members of Congress. According to an American scholar of Rumanian origin (Vladimir Socor, "The Limits of National Independence in the Soviet Bloc: Rumania's Foreign Policy Reconsidered", Orbis, Fall 1976, p. 729):

> The phraseology of independence has also been ingeniously manipulated by Bucharest leaders to modify the image of their regime abroad. The endeavor has proven largely successful, as the pretense has often been accepted at face value. In lieu of substantiation by actual policies, the nationalistic rhetoric, along with leaks and "confidences" elaborately disseminated by Bucharest to the Western press, officials and ranking visitors, have been accepted as evidence of an independent foreign policy. Thus rhetoric and a sustained policy of misinformation have combined to erase the satellite image and build the new image of a "national Communist" regime striving for independence from Moscow. As a result the

> West has afforded Bucharest, through exchanges of official visits and favorable publicity, an international respectability unprecedented for a communist government. The regime has succeeded in eliciting international and particularly Western acceptance as a substitute for the internal legitimacy eluding it.

Nicolae Ceausescu of course has not renounced a single tenet from the worn-out and disgraceful book of Marxism-Leninism. He operates an old-fashioned Stalinist dictatorship, maintaining all the usual paraphernalia, including an omnipresent secret police and an insanely promoted personality cult. By placing his wife on the ruling Politburo and at least a dozen other family members in leading positions of political power, Ceausescu has broken all records for nepotism, even in the Communist world (see, inter alia, "All in the First Family", Time, April 30, 1979).

Ceausescu's most elaborate public relations myth -- his "independent" foreign policy -- deserves further attention here. Mr. Ceausescu is not independent, he simply has a longer leash than the other East European puppets. As Rumania is "landlocked" by other Communist countries, the Soviet Union could safely withdraw its troops in the late 1950's with no danger of losing Rumania to the West. The absence of Soviet troops gives Ceausescu some room to maneuver. But he knows how far he can go, and Leonid Brezhnev knows that he knows. Rumania's "independence", therefore, is due to geographic and political factors over which it has little control, rather than to any real tendencies toward liberalization. Continuously, and with remarkable success, President Ceausescu has employed a scheme of making Rumania's "independence" appear to be the result of his own valiant efforts, rather than the given geo-political situation, thus pulling the wool over Western eyes.

Together with all Hungarian-Americans, we are deeply concerned for the restoration of freedom and independence for all the peoples of Eastern Europe. We would most certainly welcome genuine independence for any of these countries as a development beneficial to the entire area. But we condemn with equal force the notion of granting the Rumanian regime license to trample on human rights as a reward for propagating the wholly unfounded myth of independence.

Minority Oppression Is a Matter of International Concern Per Se

As a consequence of the rearrangement of East Central rope's borders following World War I, there are now 2.5 llion Hungarians and 400,000 Germans living in Rumania. ecifically, these nationalities are concentrated in the gion known as Transylvania, of whose pupulation they form out forty percent.

Rumania's national minorities are, of course, subjected to e same general suppression or freedoms as all the other habitants of that country. Their situation however is made ch more grave by the additional burden of a systematic and creasingly aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation ounting to cultural genocide.

Due to the presence of sizeable indigenous minority pulations within its borders, Rumania is one of those untries to which Article 27 of the United Nations Covenant of vil and Political Rights applies. Despite ratification of is Covenant by Rumania, its minority policies stand in clear olation of Article 27, which provides:

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linquistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Other international agreements which are regularly olated by Rumania in its treatment of national minorities are e International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of cial Discrimination and the UNESCO Convention against scrimination in Education, both signed and ratified by nania.

Measures used to oppress nationalities in Rumania also olate those provisions of the Helsinki Agreement which ohibit discrimination on the basis of national origin and ovide for the positive support of regional cultures and tional minorities.

As a matter of course, human rights violations are a oject of international concern; when the expression "human ghts" is uttered, it automatically falls within the framework of international law. Moreover, through its own ratification of the agreements mentioned above, Rumania has rendered itself further accountable to international scrutiny.

Rumania's treatment of its national minorities, therefore, can in no way be construed as a matter of purely internal concern to that country. The United States has every legal basis to insist on the restoration of fundamental rights to the minority populations of Rumania.

Before turning to the individual elements of Rumania's abusive minority policies, it must be pointed out that those elements cannot be properly viewed as distinct or isolated infractions. They form instead, the interrelated components of a well-planned and systematically executed campaign to eliminate Rumania's national minorities through forcefully assimilating them into the dominant nationality. The whole then, is equal to far more than the sum of its parts. The proper term for a program of this nature is cultural genocide.

This expression is by no means an exaggeration. In 1948, the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide formulated a draft definition of the concept of cultural genocide (U.N. Doc. E/447). Regardless of the fact that the final text of the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide did not incorporate this definition, the Rumanian government is not absolved of the fact that its behavior exactly corresponds to several elements of the definition.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA

With respect to a proper investigation of discrimination in Rumania, lofty guarantees of minority rights in the Rumanian Constitution serve to obscure more than they enlighten, since they are not observed. Section 22 for instance prescribes that

> In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by population of non-Rumanian nationality, all the bodies and institutions shall use in speech and in writing the language of the nationality concerned and shall appoint officials from its ranks or from among other citizens who know the language and way of life of the local population.

The sole difficulty with the above section is that it is completely disregarded. According to Károly Király (Appendix, p. A-2):

> In the administration of justice, the state organs, etc., the only language permitted is Rumanian. In meetings of the Party, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, as well as in meetings of industrial and agricultural workers, all presentations are made in the Rumanian language, even where the overwhelming majority of the audience is not Rumanian. The Rumanian language remains in use even at meetings of the Nationality Workers' Councils.

* * *

The failure to observe constitutional and other legal guarantees is one characteristic feature of minority oppression in Rumania. According to George Schöpflin (The Hungarians of Rumania, London: Minority Rights Group, Report No. 37, August 1978, p.9):

> Another factor of relevance, which is common to all communist societies, is the existence

> of internal regulations, usually kept secret, which may directly contradict the formal rights entrenched in the Constitution. In Rumania, these internal regulations (*dispozitii interne*) are widely employed in the field of nationalities policy.

Another major component is the absolute refusal to allow the minorities any role even vaguely resembling the conditions for self-determination, autonomy or independent decision-making. Although there are officials of minority extraction at every governmental level, they are permitted no meaningful voice in representing *their own* ethnic groups.

The Hungarian Nationality Workers Council was established in 1968 as the only body capable of serving the interest of the Hungarian minority. But the very text creating this Council exposes it as an instrument of the State, acting to undermine minority interests. The Council's stated purpose is

> to assist the Party and the State, on both the central and local levels, in mobilizing the nationalities to assume their responsibilities in the building of socialism, in researching particular questions concerning the respective populations and in implementing the nationality policies of the Party.

Károly Király, Vice President of the Council for 10 years (until his removal in March 1978), has furnished ample evidence of the Council's abject ineffectiveness. In his latest letter, for example, he writes (Appendix, p. A-2):

> As regards the Nationality Councils, their activities are determined exclusively by orders from above. These Councils do not represent the interests of the nationalities. The people belonging to these nationalities cannot participate in the activities of the Councils, and do not elect Council members. The local authorities and the Party Central Committee appoint them. The Party uses these Councils to enforce its own discriminatory nationality policies.

But let us look further into this matter. We find that Hungarians are proportionately represented, but only in those State and Party organs which are not allowed to exercise any real power, such as the showcase "Grand Assembly" (Rumania's excuse for a Parliament) and the 500 member Party Central Committee. Hungarians are virtually excluded from any body which is granted an effective role in matters affecting their own interests. Of the seven secretaries of the Party Central Committee (the holders of real power aside from Ceausescu), not one is of minority origin. Indeed, the Secretary for Nationalities in the Party Central Committee cannot speak any minority language, only Rumanian. The entire Department of Culture contains only a "Bureau" of Nationalities, which is expected to serve all the cultural needs of all the minorities. Its chief activity is the exercise of censorship over the cultural life of the minorities.

On the county level, the ineffectual People's Councils and Party Committees by and large do maintain proportional representation. But where the real power lies, within respectively, the 7-11 member Executive Committees and Party "Bureaus", Hungarians are grossly underrepresented. Indeed, in several heavily Hungarian populated counties such as Banat, Arad and Maramures (Hungarian Máramaros), they are completely excluded from the Party "Bureaus". "In the same way," Károly Király pointed out, "it is nothing new that in cities where the majority of the population is Hungarian -- such as Nagyvárad, Marosvásárhely, Szováta, etc. -- Rumanians who speak no Hungarian are being appointed as mayors" (Letter to János Vincze, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p.175).

* * *

Another ingenious method for compelling minorities to assimilate can be found in the structure of cultural institutions in Rumania. Independent minority institutions, even at the lowest levels, have been virtually eliminated. The Hungarian university in Cluj (Hungarian Kolozsvár), for example, was made a section of its Rumanian counterpart; Hungarian schools have been merged into Rumanian schools as sections; four out of the six formerly independent Hungarian theaters are now just sections of Rumanian theaters; and so on. The purpose of such arrangements is to deny the existence of a distinct Hungarian nationality, culture or language. Even the expression "national minority" is not tolerated in official publications. The minorities are referred to in official documents as "co-inhabiting nationalities", thereby implying their dependent status vis-a-vis the Rumanians who are, by implication, the only legitimate inhabitants.

* * *

A further characteristic of minority discrimination is the official policy that this problem simply does not exist. In Rumania, "there is continuous repetition of the proposition that the nationality question in our country has been finally, once and for all, solved" (Letter from Károly to Ilie Verdet, dated June 2, 1977, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 170). While some discussion, and even occasional concessions are allowed concerning other social, economic and political questions, the situation of the minorities is a forbidden subject (ibid., pp. 166-167). Still less is it permitted to propose any improvement in this area. The only task is to combat "nationalism" (meaning, of course, minority nationalism) and to neutralize the "troublemakers". According to Király, who has himself experienced the dire consequences of such "troublemaking", "unpardonably extreme methods of intimidation are employed against those who dare to ask for permission to speak in the interest of having the nationality question handled legally and in accordance with the Constitution" (Letter to János Fazekas, ibid., p. 171). In this way, any demand or complaint concerning minority conditions is wholly ignored, or, in Király's words, "killed by persistent silence" (Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, March 2, 1978).

* * *

Coupled with this official disregard is another general feature: the absence of any effective, legal remedy against abuse. Section 247 of Rumania's Criminal Code which forbids discrimination on the basis, inter alia, of national origin, is never enforced in criminal trials.

This deficiency clearly violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states (Article 2, Section 3):

> Each State party to the present Covenant undertakes:
>
> (a) to ensure that any person whose rights and freedoms as herein recognized are

> violated shall have an effective remedy notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
>
> (b) to ensure than any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;
>
> (c) to ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

It would, of course, constitute a patent contradiction for the Rumanian regime to observe these provisions and to prosecute officials under Section 247 of the Criminal Code; such officials would have to be punished for faithfully executing the policies of the Rumanian Party and State. Király has noted this lack of protection on several occasions. In his letter of February 10, 1980, he states (Appendix, p. A-2):

> An extremely burning issue is the total lack of protection of the collective rights of Rumania's national minorities, whether the nationality group is large, as in the case of the Hungarians and Germans, or small as in the case of the Serbs, Russians, Turks, Bulgarians, etc. None of them enjoy collective rights.
>
> This lack precipitates the dissolution of ethnic communities and renders their members increasingly defenseless against the policies of forced assimilation.

In turning now to the list of individual human rights violations against minorities in Rumania, it is advisable to ponder not only the substance of the given violation, but also to examine the manner in which it fits into the comprehensive pattern of minority oppression, interacting with and serving to reinforce the other elements of this reprehensible campaign.

Numerous primary sources will be cited in the discussion which follows. These works have been published by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania in the book mentioned in the Foreword, entitled Witnesses to Cultural Genocide: First-Hand Reports on Rumania's Minority Policies Today. The documents from this book to be cited are the following:

	Pages
"Methods of Rumanianization Employed in Transylvania," by Anonymous Napocensis	57-87
"Memorandum," by György Lázár	88-144
"Memorandum," by Lajos Takács	146-161
"Letter from Károly Király to Ilie Verdet," dated June 2, 1977	163-170
"Letter from Károly Király to János Fazekas," written in August 1977	171-172
"Letter from Károly Király to János Jincze," dated September 10, 1977	173-178
"Letter from Zoltan Zsuffa to Ferdinánd Nagy," dated July 31, 1977	179-182

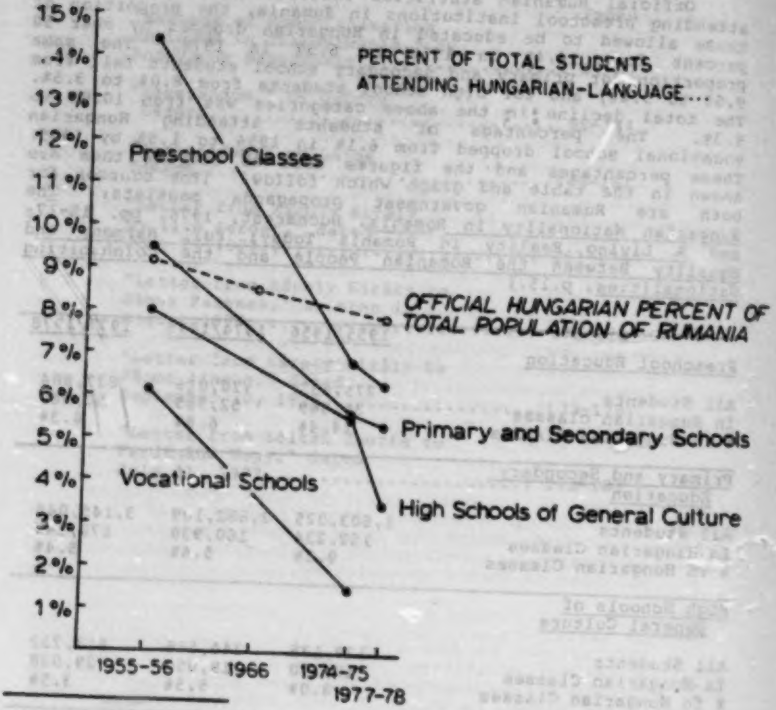
SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSION OF MINORITIES IN RUMANIA

1. Discrimination in Elementary and High School Education

Official Rumanian statistics indicate that of all pupils attending preschool institutions in Rumania, the proportion of those allowed to be educated in Hungarian dropped by over 50 percent from 14.4% in 1956 to 6.3% in 1978. The same proportion for primary and secondary school students fell from 9.5% to 5.4%, and for high school students from 8.0% to 3.5%. The total decline in the above categories was from 10.0% to 5.3%. The percentage of students attending Hungarian vocational school dropped from 6.1% in 1956 to 1.5% by 1975. These percentages and the figures used to compute them are shown in the table and graph which follow. (The sources for both are Rumanian government propaganda booklets: The Hungarian Nationality in Romania, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 15-17; and A Living Reality in Romania Today; Full Harmony and Equality Between the Romanian People and the Coinhabiting Nationalities, p.15.)

	1955/1956	1974/1975	1977/1978
Preschool Education			
All Students	275,433	770,016	837,884
In Hungarian classes	39,669	52,765	52,580
% in Hungarian Classes	14.4%	6.8%	6.3%
Primary and Secondary Education			
All Students	1,603,025	2,882,109	3,145,046
In Hungarian Classes	152,234	160,939	170,945
% in Hungarian Classes	9.5%	5.6%	5.4%
High Schools of General Culture			
All Students	129,135	344,585	813,732
In Hungarian Classes	10,370	19,050	29,028
% in Hungarian Classes	8.0%	5.5%	3.5%
Vocational Education			
All Students	123,920	615,876	
In Hungarian Classes	7,585	8,974	N/A
% in Hungarian Classes	6.1%	1.5%	

OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE EDUCATION AT THE ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL LEVELS IN RUMANIA *



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* SOURCES: The Hungarian Nationality in Rumania (Bucharest, Rumania: Meridiane Publishing House, 1976), pp. 8, 15-17.

A Living Reality in Romania Today: Full Harmony and Equality Between the Romanian People and the Coinhabiting Nationalities (Bucharest, Rumania, 1978), p. 15.

These official Rumanian statistics indicate that while 23 years ago the number of students allowed to attend Hungarian classes was roughly proportionate to the size of the Hungarian population, the above figures show an alarming decline. Attendance in Hungarian classes has fallen in each category far below the levels which even the official population statistics would warrant.

How has this drastic result come about? The process by which the Rumanian government eliminates Hungarian schools began in 1959. Since that year, independent Hungarian schools have been systematically attached to Rumanian schools as mere sections, which sections, in turn, have been gradually phased out. The process of totally eliminating these Hungarian sections was legitimized by enactment of the clearly discriminatory Decree/Law 278 (May 11, 1973).

This unprecedented piece of legalized discrimination required the presence of a minimum quota of 25 students at the grade school level and 36 students at the high school level in order to maintain or establish a class in one of the minority languages. (Prior to the issuance of the Decree, this quota had been 15 students.) If a given Hungarian community contained, for example, 24 Hungarian students for a given elementary school class, these children were forced to complete their studies in the Rumanian language. As most villages in Transylvania have only between 500 and 1000 inhabitants, the number of Hungarian students very often fell short of the required quota, and the Hungarian classes had to be terminated. Once a school was thus forced to become Rumanian, use of the Hungarian language was forbidden, even during recess.

What made this Decree still more offensive was that the provisions applicable to Hungarians and other minorities did not apply to Rumanian sections or classes in areas inhabited predominantly by Hungarians. In such towns or villages, a Rumanian section had to be maintained regardless of demand (i.e. even if a given Hungarian village contained only one Rumanian student). The wording of Decree/Law 278 made this requirement perfectly clear:

> In those communities where schools function in the language of the coinhabiting nationalities, Rumanian language sections or classes shall be organized regardless of the number of students.

In 1973, after the issuance of Decree/Law 278, Hungarian sections and schools were eliminated in many villages. Parents attempted to compensate for the loss by arranging at their own expense for rented buses to take their children to the nearest village which still had a Hungarian school. This practice, especially widespread in the counties of Harghita (Hungarian Hargita) and Salaj (Hungarian Szilágy), was soon recognized and summarily terminated by the State, citing the pretext of a "gas shortage".

As students were prevented from being bused to nearby Hungarian schools, the sole remaining alternative would have been to send them away to live at the nearest Hungarian boarding school. The State, however, allowed boarding facilities for Rumanian schools only. This example illustrates the manner in which assorted discriminatory techniques are cleverly intertwined. Their effect is absolute: in the many heavily Hungarian populated, but small communities where the number of Hungarian children fell short of the required quota, those children were left with no other option but to attend a Rumanian school. The school may have been located within the community or, if the community was too small, it may have been a boarding school in a larger town, but in either case the State made certain that it was a Rumanian school.

On December 21, 1978, a new Law on Education and Instruction was enacted (see Buletinul Oficial No. 113, December 26, 1978), which technically supersedes Decree/Law 278 cited above. The new law, however, not only failed to address or rectify the discriminatory practices instituted under Decree/Law 278, but has in actuality facilitated a continued worsening of the situation. Devoting less than 2% of its text to the education of minority children, the law is confined to general and repetitive provisions and does not detail the conditions under which children can study in their native tongue. In practical terms, therefore, the prior discriminatory rules of Decree/Law 278 have been allowed to remain in full effect -- as modified perhaps by the cobweb of secret administrative and Party directives which exist parallel to and often supplant the published regulations. According to latest reports, the elimination of Hungarian sections and classes continues unabated up to the present time.

An indication of this process is contained in a recent report by László Lőrincz, State Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction, on education in minority languages (published in Invatamintul Liceal, Bucharest, September 1979). According to the figures he cites, 7,503 faculty members "from the ranks of the coinhabiting nationalities" are constrained to teach in Rumanian schools or sections.

Even in the remaining Hungarian schools and sections, not just the Rumanian language, but the subjects of literature, geography and history must also be taught in Rumanian. In many Hungarian sections, there are so many Rumanian-language courses that the section is Hungarian in name only. This is especially the case in Hungarian vocational and technical school, where only Hungarian literature and physical education are actually taught in Hungarian.

Moreover, even in Hungarian classes, textbooks are not necessarily written in Hungarian, as revealed in a speech by László Lőrincz (see transcripts of The Joint Plenary Session of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers Concils, Bucharest, March 13-14, 1978, p 67). According to this speech, textbooks are considered appropriate for use in Hungarian classes even though they may contain only a glossary in Hungarian, but are otherwise written completely in Rumanian. Under such circumstances, to what degree can even a nominally Hungarian class actually conduct studies in Hungarian?

The lack of Hungarian-language classes has been reported by the distinguished Swiss daily Neue Zürcher Zeitung (in that newspaper's comprehensive survey: "Rumania's Controversial Minority Policy," April 8/9, 1977, p. 3):

> In technical high schools, if a Hungarian student is to advance, he must take mostly those courses offered only in Rumanian. There is no possibility whatsoever of obtaining a higher education in the technical fields in Hungarian.

In trade schools, only the simpler trades are taught in Hungarian. Thus, studies in Rumanian are necessary for advancement into the more highly developed technical fields such as electronics, information technology, medical technology, and industrial chemistry. In 1973-74, for example, of the 174 first year classes entering the trade schools in Cluj (Kolozs) county, only two (!) were Hungarian, one in textile manufacturing, and the other in the construction industry. Such was the case in a county where, as noted above, even according to official Rumanian statistics 26.1% of the population is Hungarian. ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 126.)

Matters have taken a sharp turn for the worse since the Fall of 1976 when a drive was initiated to reorganize Rumania's entire educational system, placing greater emphasis on technical and vocational training, and reducing the number of high schools, or lyceums, which provide instruction in the liberal arts. As an outgrowth of this drive, Hungarian lyceums which had been in continuous existence for the past 300-400 years in such cities as Oradea (Nagyvárad), Cluj (Kolozsvár), Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely), Odorheiul-Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and Tirgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely) have been summarily eliminated, while the language of instruction is almost exclusively Rumanian.

The impact of this drive was already felt during the 1976-77 academic year: of the 34,738 total number of Hungarian secondary school students, 15,591 were constrained to attend trade schools in which the technical subjects were taught in Rumanian only ("Memorandum," by Lajos Takács, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 149). And, as Károly Király pointed out, the situation has deteriorated despite official pledges to the contrary ("Letter to János Vincze," in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 174):

> We were promised new secondary vocational and technical schools in which studies were to be conducted in the languages of the nationalities, but in reality we have witnessed a decline in the number of these schools. Each year there are fewer and fewer of them. Children cannot study in their native tongue; compulsory instruction in the Rumanian language has been introduced even at the kindergarten level.

Despite the numerous protests of Király, Takács and others, the situation has failed to improve. As Király writes in February 1980 (Appendix, p. A-2):

> In the area of education the opportunity for children to study in the mother tongue has narrowed even further. Classes in the mother tongue have been eliminated, and in their place, mixed Rumanian-Hungarian, Rumanian-German, etc., classes have been set up. The discriminatory Decree Law 258 was not repealed. In the Bánát and the Mezőség region of Transylvania there are communities and cities where there is not a single

Hungarian-language class, elementary or trade school. In Moldavia, in entirely Hungarian Csángó communities, no forms of education in the mother tongue exist.

Finally, through discriminatory admissions policies, the State makes it difficult for graduates of Hungarian schools or sections to enter the next higher educational level. Naturally, the Hungarian-language courses at these levels are rapidly eliminated, their existence being predicated upon the number of Hungarians who enter them. The Rumanian State, in the meantime, alleges that it is due to lack of popular demand that such courses are closed. Thus, as in the many illustrations above, the vicious discriminatory cycle is complete, and the outcome for the Hungarian minority is devastating.

2. Discrimination in Higher Education

Higher education has a great historic tradition in Transylvania. The Bolyai University of Cluj (Kolozsvár), for instance, can be traced to the Jesuit academy founded by the Hungarian prince István Báthory in 1581.

On March 5, 1959, the Bolyai University was forced to merge with the Rumanian Babes University. In his book Minorities Under Communism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), Robert R. King calls the elimination of this Hungarian institution "the most serious blow to intellectuals among the Hungarian minority" (P. 153). Three professors, including the celebrated writer László Szabédi, committed suicide out of despair at this arbitrary act. Today, many view it as the first major step in the current campaign of cultural genocide, sanctioned at the outset by Moscow in retaliation for the 1956 revolt in Hungary. Incidentally, both Szabédi and Nicolae Ceausescu were present at the dinner where the merger of the two universities was celebrated in the name of brotherhood and equality. Ceausescu, secretary to the then dictator Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, had been sent to head the campaign to intimidate the Hungarian professors in order to force them to accept the crippling of their univerisity. During the dinner, Szabédi questioned the motives of the Government in ordering the merger. The result was an intensive harassment of Szabédi by the secret police, which finally drove him to commit suicide a few weeks later. (A chilling, eyewitness account of Szabédi's tragedy and the events leading up to it can be found in "Methods of Rumanianization Employed in Transylvania," by Anonymous Napocensis, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 66-69.)

It is characteristic that the document of unification, which lists the existing faculties of the two universities at the time of the merger, has been concealed ever since, so as to hide any official evidence of the extent to which the Hungarian faculties have been eliminated. King further states that after the merger "the 'Rumanianizacion' of the unified university was gradually carried out" (p. 154). He cites numerous examples of this ruthless process (ibid.):

> Although at first there was an attempt to give Hungarians adequate representation in the administration of the merged university, gradually Rumanians have come to play an increasingly dominant administrative role. When the merger was announced the rector was Rumanian but two of the three prorectors were Hungarian. By 1967 the number of prorectorships had been increased to five, but three were Rumanian. Also, seven of the eight deacons of the university and 61 percent of the teaching faculty were Rumanian.

Present conditions at this allegedly bilingual university are dismal. In the 1976-77 academic year, of all the students (approximately 6,000) only 8% (480 students) have the opportunity to attend Hungarian classes. ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 119.) Typical of the lack of Hungarian-language courses is the situation in the University's Department of Chemistry. Only 6 of the 36 courses are taught in Hungarian, but 5 of those 6 are ideological courses (Marxism-Leninism, etc.) and the sixth is Organic Chemistry (ibid).

A newer measure, introduced in 1979, makes it mandatory to combine a major in any subject belonging in the field of Hungarian studies with the appropriate subject in Rumanian studies. Since that time, applicants who wish to study Hungarian history, literature or linguistics are not admitted unless they can also pass an entrance examination in the Rumanian counterpart to those subjects. The following list, taken from the Takács Memorandum (Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 151-152), provides an indication of the fate of the Hungarian section at this university since the merger two decades ago:

- In 1958-59, the year of the merger, there were 45 Rumanian and 36 Hungarian instructors on the faculty of Chemistry. In the 1976-77 academic year, we find 63 Rumanian and only 14 Hungarian instructors. During the intervening 20 years, 37 young Rumanian instructors were hired, in contrast to only one Hungarian.

- In 1958-59, there were 18 Rumanian and 15 Hungarian instructors on the faculty of Law. In 1977-78, 23 Rumanians and 4 Hungarians remained. In the interim, 8 Rumanian instructors and 1 Hungarian were hired.

- In contrast to the 23 Rumanian and 15 Hungarian instructors on the faculty of Economics at the time of the merger, today we find that the number of instructors has grown to the unusually large number of 95, of whom only 19 are Hungarian.

- In 1959, the entire staff of the Mathematics Department numbered 50, of whom 19 were from the Bolyai University. In this department today we find 65 instructors, of whom 14 are Hungarian. Of the 33 instructors hired since the merger, only 3 have been Hungarian.

- In the History department (at the faculty of History and Philosophy), of the 43 instructors at the time of the merger, 14 were from the Bolyai University. Currently, 27 instructors are left from the time of the merger, of whom 7 are Hungarian. Since the merger, not one Hungarian teacher has been hired. The youngest Hungarian instructor is 49 years old. Of the 7 Hungarians, not one has been named full professor and not one has been given a full pension.

- The situation is similar in the other departments of the University.

There is no guarantee of course, that even the remaining Hungarian faculty members indicated above actually teach

Hungarian-language classes. But clearly, as their numbers decline, even the possibility of such classes withers away.

A meaningful indicator of the total volume of Hungarian-language education which occurs at the University can be computed by multiplying the number of Hungarian courses by the number of students attending those courses. In recent semesters, the resulting figure has fluctuated between 5% and 10% of the comparable figure at the time of the merger. ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 120.)

Why is the elimination of the Bolyai University considered such an outrageous measure? The reason lies in the fact that the Hungarian minority in Rumania forms an immense population, the largest national minority in Europe. One third of all the countries in the world have fewer inhabitants than there are Hungarians in Rumania. It is grossly discriminatory that this population of 2.5 million is not allowed to maintain a single university of its own.

In addition to this University, all other Hungarian institutions of higher education have been systematically curtailed or eliminated. King writes that "at the time Babes and Bolyai Universities were merged, the Dr. Petru Groza Agricultural Institute in Cluj was 'reorganised', and separate language instruction was dropped" (Minorities Under Communism, p. 154). Actually, according to Takács (Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 152-153), "Hungarian-language instruction was completely eliminated" at this Institute. "Currently, of the 205 faculty members employed there, only 16 are Hungarian -- all of them left over from the old institute -- and during the past 20 years, not one Hungarian teacher has been appointed" (ibid.). Of course, since studies can only be conducted in the Rumanian language, even these remaining Hungarians cannot teach in their native tongue.

According to King, "The Hungarian medical school in Tirgu Mures has also undergone a process of 'Rumanianization'" (Minorities Under Communism, p. 154). The number of cases is endless. In 1976 a Rumanian rector was appointed to head the Hungarian Teachers College in Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) for the first time in the history of the school. Based on past experience, there can be no mistake as to the meaning of this measure for the future of this prestigious college. Indeed, during the time which has elapsed since this appointment, existing courses of instruction in Hungarian literature, language and music have been completely eliminated.

Károly Király wrote about the fate of institutions of higher education in the following manner ("Letter to János Vincse," in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 174-175):

> In 1976 a decision was born to eliminate Hungarian institutions of higher education. After the "Bolyai" University in Kolozsvár came the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacology at Marosvásárhely, and then, by special order from above, a Rumanian section was established at the István Szentgyörgyi School for the Dramatic Arts, thereby liquidating in effect the last "island" of higher education in a nationality tongue.

In his latest letter, Király reports that the situation in Hungarian higher education is "continuously deteriorating" (Appendix, p. A-2).

Parallel to the disappearance of opportunities to study in Hungarian, there has been a catastrophic drop over the past two decades in the proportion of Hungarian students attending any institution of higher education. This decline can only be explained by discriminatory admissions policies. In the 1957-59 academic year, at all institutions of higher education, there were 4,082 Hungarian students studying in their native tongue, and between 1,000 and 1,500 studying in Rumanian. At that time, therefore, there were approximately 5,500 Hungarian students out of a total student population of 51,094. Less than 20 years later, during the 1974-75 academic year, the total number of Hungarians attending institutions of higher education was 6,188, while the total number of Rumanians had grown to 108,750. Thus, while the number of all students in higher education more than doubled during that period, the number of Hungarian students rose by only about 600, or a mere 10%. ("Memorandum," by Lajos Takács, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 153).

One final comment on this topic seems appropriate. The severe restriction on those subjects which can be taught in Hungarian is not without serious impact on the lower levels of education. As indicated earlier, the various elements of discrimination in Rumania cannot be isolated, for they act to reinforce one another. Thus, the fact that the number of subjects which can be pursued in Hungarian beyond high school is relentlessly declining undoubtedly serves to pressure aspiring Hungarian students to begin studying those subjects in Rumanian during their earlier years of schooling.

3. Dissolution of Compact Minority Communities and Dispersion of Ethnic Professionals

As a Communist dictatorship, the Rumanian Government has almost complete control over its labor and housing markets. This control is used to break up homogeneous ethnic Hungarian communities.

The systematic denationalization of Hungarian cities has been noted in the Financial Times of London ("Transylvania's Ethnic Strains," April 2, 1975). The case of Cluj, Rumania's second largest city, is described as follows:

> Over the past 15 years, Romanians have been settled in this formerly almost entirely Hungarian city whereas Hungarians from the surrounding area have been banned with the result that Romanians now make up 65 per cent of the population.

In Rumania, citizens are not permitted to resettle into another city without official approval. At the same time, it is government policy to prevent the minority populations of cities from growing. Accordingly, while Hungarians find it almost impossible to move into the major cities of Transylvania, the influx of Rumanians is not only permitted, but encouraged through offers of favorable housing opportunities and other benefits.

Industrialization, which as in all Communist states is government-planned, is used as a tool to achieve the same purpose. Earlier some of the most heavily Hungarian populated counties were among the most industrially underdeveloped. Hungarians seeking industrial employment were thus constrained to move to Rumanian areas or to commute long distances. Presently, with industrialization reaching into such counties as Covasna (Kovászna, 74.4% Hungarian) and Harghita (Hargita, 88.1% Hungarian), instead of employing the local population, the new factories are staffed mostly by Rumanian settlers imported by the government from outside areas. In his February 1980 letter, Király described this policy as follows (Appendix, pp. A-3 to A-4):

> The generous overindustrialization of Transyvania, particularly of the Hungarian inhabited areas, about which so much is made, and for which so much gratitude is

> expected of the locals, is based on this policy.
>
> On the excuse of labor shortage, masses of people from historic Rumania are brought not only into the cities, but into the villages as well. If it were true that all this is being done out of love for the nationalities, then the possibilities of study in and use of the mother tongue would not be hindered.

It has been alleged that the reason for the decline in the Hungarian percentage of some Transylvanian cities is that their "hinterland" was much more Rumanian than Hungarian and "that upward mobility has favored the lesser developed Rumanian masses". This hypothesis is disproved by such cities as Miercurea Ciuc (Csikszereda) where in the past 10 years, as a consequence of industrialization, the percentage of Hungarians has fallen from 90% to 70%. This city happens to lie in the heart of a region which is purely Hungarian.

Another example of this policy is the manner in which workers have been hired at the new Azomures chemical factory in Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely). This city lies at the center of an area surrounded by a 60% majority of Hungarian inhabitants. Despite this fact, 90% of the workers in the Azomures plant are Rumanian. ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 132.)

A Decree issued in 1976 limits the opportunity for workers to commute. Thus, Hungarian workers who had been able to live in their native communities because they were willing to commute long distances must now either move to their place of employment (usually to Rumanian communities) or face the loss of their jobs (ibid., p.133).

The breakup of Hungarian communities is further accomplished through the routine assignment of Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools to jobs outside their native communities. Even though President Ceausescu himself, speaking on March 14, 1978 before a joint plenary session of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers Councils (see transcript cited above, p.14), cited this practice as a "deficiency" in Rumania's nationality policies, it continues unaltered to the present day.

The stated policy of the Rumanian government, that graduates with the highest grades are given first choice of where to work, cannot account for the extent to which Hungarians are sent into Rumanian areas and Rumanians into Hungarian districts. As a result, the displaced Hungarians are cut off from their ethnic roots, and their children have no opportunity to attend Hungarian schools. More importantly, however, the Hungarian minority is deprived of doctors, lawyers, and other professionals who speak their own language. A frequently heard complaint, especially among the elderly in rural areas, is that they cannot communicate with the local doctor. Obviously, the otherwise sensible practice of rewarding top graduates with first choice in place of employment could still be applied effectively with the simple modification that Hungarian graduates be allowed to choose from among Hungarian areas and Rumanian graduates from among Rumanian regions.

The fact that Rumanian graduates are also sent into Hungarian districts does not make this policy any less discriminatory. On the contrary, although Hungarians are required to speak Rumanian in the Rumanian areas to which they have been sent, Rumanian professionals do not have to speak Hungarian in Hungarian areas. Consequently, the local population must either accomodate to the language of the Rumanian professionals foisted on them, or suffer the consequences. The discriminatory nature of this policy is clear. It is also intimately tied to the government's policy on minority schools. The sending of Rumanians into Hungarian areas paves the way for the elimination of Hungarian schools, since the children of these Rumanians are educated in newly created Rumanian sections. The Hungarian sections are then phased out as shown above.

Clearly, the Ceausescu regime, which appeals to nationalistic chauvinism as a source of legitimacy and power, does not easily tolerate compact masses of another nationality. Dissolution of communities is an effective way to disrupt the life and weaken the identity of ethnic groups.

4. Lack of Bilingualism

The Rumanian government's policy of referring to Rumania as a "unitary national state" is well known. But while that condition might be the desire or the aim of the government, it is also true that Rumania is currently multi-ethnic, especially in the region of Transylvania. The presence of several million inhabitants comprising large national minority groups is an undeniable *fact* which has well-defined consequences according to the rules of international law applicable to such minorities.

In contravention of these rules and Article 22 of the Rumanian Constitution quoted earlier, Rumanian is the official language spoken everywhere in Rumania; it is the exclusive language at all levels of government bureaucracy. Use of the native tongue has been completely eliminated from all areas of official activity. We challenge the Rumanian government, for example, to produce evidence of a single statement made in Hungarian during any meeting of a Party or local governmental organ in such heavily Hungarian localities as Oradea (Nagyvárad), Satu Mare (Szatmár), Bihorea (Bihar), Timisoara (Temesvár) or Cluj (Kolozsvár). As Károly Király pointed out ("Letter to János Vincze," in *Witnesses to Cultural Genocide*, p.175):

> Use of the native tongue is severely restricted at meetings of the Party, the Young Communists League, the trade unions, and in the various workers Councils; indeed, *use of the native tongue is prohibited even at meetings of the Nationality Workers Councils*. [Emphasis added.]

The lack of bilingualism is further evidenced by the fact that traffic safety signs and bureaucratic forms are all in Rumanian. Moreover, as Király writes (ibid.):

> Signs identifying institutions, localities and so on in the native tongue of the local inhabitants have almost completely disappeared. In 1971 when I was First Party Secretary in Kovászna County, we posted bilingual Rumanian and Hungarian signs there, in accordance with a decree of the County Peoples Council. But their existence was shortlived. The signs were simply removed, and by 1975, not a single locality was identified in Hungarian.

In addition, there is an increasing tendency to appoint Rumanian personnel to all positions which involve contact with the public in Hungarian areas. In Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely), for instance (which as already noted is still 70-75% Hungarian) the Rumanian mayor does not even speak Hungarian and postal service personnel are almost exclusively

Rumanian. (See also "Letter from Károly Király to János Vincze," in *Witnesses to Cultural Genocide*, p. 175.)

In this regard, the author of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* article cited above made the following observation:

> In Cluj whose population is still 45% Hungarian-speaking, signs in that language are clearly forbidden. Only Hungarian theater billboards and announcements in churches visited by Hungarians are in Hungarian.

According to Article 109 of the Rumanian Constitution, judicial proceedings throughout the country must be conducted in the Rumanian language. The only right a Hungarian defendant or litigant has before the court *of his own native community* is to be provided with an interpreter. This "right", however, is no more than the right granted to any foreigner brought to trial in Rumania.

In the technical professions, due to the absence of bilingual instruction noted above, use of the Hungarian language is simply impossible. It is also impossible to find a menu in Hungarian in the restuarants of Cluj (Kolozsvár) where a large percentage of the population is Hungarian. Postcards depicting Hungarian historical monuments bear descriptive texts in four or five languages, none of them Hungarian.

The lack of bilingualism is made all the more severe by the overt and subtle forms of intimidation which are employed to eliminate the use of the native tongue at all levels of society. Károly Király pointed out this problem when he wrote (Letters to Ilie Verdet and János Vincze, in *Witnesses to Cultural Genocide*, pp. 168 and 175):

> In some cases, first secretaries, first vice-presidents, county secretaries in municipalities and cities and vice-presidents in the Peoples Councils, though of nationality origin themselves, use only the Rumanian language in their contacts with workers of nationality origin, *letting them know in this way that perhaps someone prohibited them from using the native tongue*...
>
> Nationalities cannot use their native

> tongues even in State offices; after all, most of the officials are Rumanians who do not speak the nationality's language, either because they do not know it or because they refuse to use it. [Emphases added.]

Due to this complete absence of any degree of bilingualism and the chauvinism encouraged by government policies, members of minorities are often forced to endure derision and threats for using their native tongue, even in private conversations at public places. It seems fitting to conclude here with the experience of a recent visitor, a well-known writer, to Transylvania. In the predominantly Hungarian village of Sic (Szék), he found only one Hungarian sign. It hangs on the wall of the village tavern and declares: "It is forbidden to sing in Hungarian."

5. Curtailment of Cultural Opportunities

In view of the already discussed decline in Hungarian educational opportunities and the increasing denationalization of Hungarian communities, it is hardly surprising that the same policy of curtailment and elimination permeates every aspect of minority cultural life as well. As noted last year by The Times of London ("Party Officials Join Fight for Hungarians' Rights," April 25, 1978, p. 9):

> The Hungarians, who hitherto had their old cultural institutions have gradually been losing them as the policy of enforced assimilation by the Rumanian state gained momentum over the past 10 years or so.

The following are only some examples of this discriminatory process:

- No independent Hungarian writers, artists, or musicians association may exist in Rumania today despite the rich, living heritage of Transylvanian Hungarian creators in those areas. Even in the field of literature, where language is obviously of supreme importance, Hungarians can only belong to the Rumanian Writers Association as individuals. They are not permitted to pass even resolutions of their own. Their only right is to make proposals to the entire body. Their leaders are not elected, but appointed by the Rumanians. Out of "courtesy" to the attending Rumanian officials, Hungarian writers are not able to hold meetings or carry on discussions in their ow native tongue. In this way, Hungarian poets and authors ar forced to discuss their literary work in another language Rumanian. Contacts -- even informal -- with literar associations in Hungary are strictly forbidden. Though only fraction of their work is allowed to appear in Rumania, Hungarian writers are prohibited from publishing any origina works in Hungary.

- The volume of Hungarian-language books published i Rumania is clearly insufficient. According to officia government statistics 2,423,000 copies were published in 1977, meaning only one book per Hungarian for the entire year. And, of course, this figure includes an inordinately heavy share o translations from the Rumanian language, including such "gems as the collected works of Nicolae Ceausescu. In the perio from 1970 to 1977, of the 19 publishers who published anythin in Hungarian, 12 did not exceed 10 titles each. During tha seven year period, Akademia Publishers issued only 1 work i Hungarian, Medicalia published 4, Minerva published 1, and th Tourist and Sport Publisher issued 1. Eight of thes publishers do not employ a single Hungarian editor, while th other four employ one each. As a result of these conditions, there is a severe shortage of Hungarian books of a technica nature and of Hungarian children's books. ("Memorandum," b Lajos Takács, in *Witnesses to Cultural Genocide*, p. 155.)

The number of Hungarian-language newspapers, frequency o publication and number of pages have all been forcibly curtailed in the past years under the pretext of a "paper shortage". Rumanian newspapers were also curtailed, but their allocations were soon reinstated while those of the Hungarian newspapers were not. Six Hungarian newspapers formerly published daily are now allowed to appear only weekly. There is no journal on drama or music or the other arts in Hungarian, even though the demand for these items is high. Nor are there any technical, medical and other professional journals in the minority languages. All Hungarian high school and university student newspapers have been terminated. Even the children's periodical *Jobarát* has been forced to merge with its Rumanian counterpart *Cutezatorul* and can publish only translations of articles which appear in the latter. Those publications which do exist are used by the State to further undermine the national identity of the minorities. Newspapers, magazines and literary publications in Hungarian do not serve the political, economic or cultural/spiritual needs of the Hungarian minority. Literary magazines, for example, are to a great extent devoted to the translated works of Rumanian authors and to the activities of the Communist Party.

To counter the charge of discrimination in this field, it could be argued that all publications, including those in the Rumanian language are filled with official propaganda. But of all the Communist-ruled countries, Rumania appeals the most to national chauvinism as a source of popular support. The Ceausescu regime, intoxicated with delusions of its own grandeur, treats the mere existence of minorities as anathema. Official Rumanian propaganda, therefore, is not only Communist, but especially chauvinistic in nature. It serves the interests of a chauvinistic dictatorship bent on robbing its minority populations of their national identity. Thus even when applied equally to both Hungarians and Rumanians, it is inevitably discriminatory against the former.

- Book imports from Hungary are severely restricted by Rumanian regulations which tie their number to the volume of books Hungary imports from Rumania. Because, obviously, more Hungarian literature is produced in Hungary than in Rumania, and the publication of Hungarian-language books in Rumania is kept at an artificially low level, this linkage works as an effective obstacle to the importation of literary products from Hungary. In this way, for example, the most widely known novel by one of the greatest contemporary writers in Hungary, László Németh, published in 1948, was not distributed in Rumania until 1967. The restriction on literary imports from Hungary applies equally to classical literature, specialized scientific and technical texts, and phonograph records, even those containing only folk and gypsy music. Subscriptions to periodicals published in Hungary can be obtained only with official permission and only if they do not exceed a numerical quota. Eighty to ninety percent of such requests are rejected, including those of schools, libraries and institutions as well as individuals.

The policy of restricting materials from Hungary also applies to private individuals (Rumanian citizens as well as foreign visitors) who enter Rumania with personal belongings. The following typical border incident was reported by an American news correspondent (Eric Bourne, "After 20 Years of Silent Protests, Transylvanians in Romania Are Calling Loudly for Their Rights," The Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 1978, p. 15):

Scene: The border crossing on the main highway from Hungary into northwestern Romania.

Awaiting Customs clearance, a coachload of Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin.

They are returning home to the Hungarian minority region of Transylvania in Romania after visiting relatives in Hungary.

On one side of the border the Hungarian guard waves them on quickly. But on the other side the Romanians take longer.

Passengers' suitcases and parcels are all meticulously checked -- not for luxury items, but for Hungarian books and newspapers, which are invariably confiscated.

A girl is relieved of several volumes of a Hungarian encyclopedia. Near tears, she explains they are for her studies, but to no avail...

These arbitrary Romanian restrictions on the import of Hungarian publications are a major cause of increasing resentment among the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania.

- Twenty years ago there were six independent Hungarian theaters in Transylvania. Today only two of them exist, one in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and the other in Sfintul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy). The remaining four have been merged into Rumanian theaters (except that of Timisoara (Temesvár) which was merged with the German one) where the management and service personnel are exclusively Rumanian.

The purpose of the mergers was to suffocate a flourishing institution, the Hungarian theater. A good case in point is the process which occurred in Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely). This predominantly Hungarian city (70-75%) is the cultural center of a totally Hungarian rural hinterland (90-95%). Though there appeared to be no need for a Rumanian theater, one was created and forcefully merged with the Hungarian theater.

A Rumanian director who does not speak a word of Hungarian was appointed to head the new theater ("Letter from Károly Király to János Vincze," dated September 10, 1977, Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 175). As expected, Rumanian performances played before an almost completely empty house, while Hungarian performances were almost always sold out. The result is that season tickets can now be bought only for the combination of Rumanian and Hungarian performances. Hungarian theater-goers are thereby forced to subsidize the Rumanian performances and, consequently, the gradual suffocation of their own theater section.

Coincidentally, the city's István Szentgyörgyi Hungarian School for the Dramatic Arts was merged into a newly created Rumanian counterpart. As Király writes (ibid.): "Just to eliminate any remaining doubt concerning the latter move, of the six Hungarian graduates of the School for the Dramatic Arts, only one was appointed to a Hungarian theater, while the remaining five -- whether they liked it or not -- were placed in Rumanian theaters." The locality in question, Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely), has never had a Rumanian theatrical tradition, and the Rumanian drama instructors who teach in the new school commute regularly from Bucharest. Clearly, the only purpose of this merger was to provide the means for gradually eliminating a vital Hungarian institution. Even the Rumanian theatrical elite was outraged at this measure.

For many years Hungarian theaters in Rumania fulfilled an important mission by touring the Hungarian-inhabited countryside performing plays for the people in small towns and villages. In recent years, however, the government has begun to interfere with this practice as well. It has, for instance, restricted the amount of gasoline allocated to the Hungarian Theater of Cluj (Kolozsvár) and in 1975 it confiscated the Theater's truck. Many outlying localities thus lost the opportunity to benefit from the Theater performances. ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, p. 116.)

- Twelve years ago the Hungarian Folk Institute of Cluj (Kolozsvár) was closed without explanation. At about the same time the Székely Folk Ensemble was also eliminated. A so-called Maros Folk Ensemble was created in its place, which performs considerably more Rumanian than Hungarian numbers. Moreover, an internal (unofficial, but strictly enforced) Party directive prohibits any further hiring of Hungarians by this ensemble. The same directive applies to the Hungarian

Philharmonic Orchestra in Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely). These cases are mentioned only as examples of the manner in which allegedly Hungarian groups are forced to conduct their activities.

- Despite a potential audience numbering in the millions, films in Rumania cannot be made in Hungarian. There are no facilities for the training of theater directors, drama critics, art critics, or music critics in Hungarian. Requests for permission to study in these professions in Hungary are routinely denied.

- Fortunately, the inadequacy of Hungarian-language broadcasy programming in Rumania is partly offset by the invaluable services of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Nevertheless the situation falls far short of expectations: The present 3 hours of television programming a week in a language that is the native tongue of 2.5 million people is grossly inadequate. Adding to this insufficiency, television program schedules were rearranged in January 1974, so that even these scant 3 hours are now broadcast during a time period (Monday, late afternoon) when the majority of potential viewers are still at work. The situation with respect to radio programming is no less deplorable. It is outrageous and highly discriminatory for example, that Radio Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely), whose broadcast area has a Hungarian population of more than 90%, transmits only 2 hours daily in Hungarian.

- Finally, it is revealing to examine the supply of books in public libraries. According to recent data the volumes in these libraries are predominately in the Rumanian language even *in entirely Hungarian communities*. Two examples are the library located in the Kalotaszeg region (close to 100% Hungarian populated) where out of 30,000 books only 5,471 (18.2%) were in Hungarian, and the library of Rimetea (Torockó, 93.1% Hungarian populated) where out of 7,531 books only 3,228 (42.9%) were in Hungarian ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in *Witnesses to Cultural Genocide*, p. 116).

6. Falsification of Population Statistics

Rumanian statistics consistently understate the size of the Hungarian minority in Rumania. Based on a census taken in 1910, the Hungarian population within the region which later formed the Rumanian state was placed at 1.6 million. According to the 1966 Rumanian census, despite the passage of 56 years, the number was still the same.

This strange result might be explained by internal inconsistencies in those Rumanian statistics which deal with the growth rate of the Hungarian minority. The last three censi in Rumania have produced the following published statistics:

	TOTAL POPULATION EXCLUDING HUNGARIANS	HUNGARIANS
1956	15,901,775	1,587,675
1966	17,483,571	1,619,592
Growth Rate, 1956-1966	9.9%	2.0%
1977	19,852,542	1,706,874
Growth Rate, 1966-1977	13.5%	5.4%

According to these figures, between 1956 and 1966, the non-Hungarian population of Rumania grew by 9.9%, at a rate almost five times greater than the alleged Hungarian growth rate of 2.0%. Similarly, between 1966 and 1977, the total population of Rumania, excluding Hungarians, supposedly grew by 13.5%, while the growth rate of Hungarians was only 5.4%. In reality, aside from statistical juggling, there is no circumstance which can be cited to justify such vast differences in growth rates.

Furthermore, there are demographic statistics on Hungarians which suggest a significantly larger Hungarian population than that which is officially reported. According to official Rumanian sources (e.g. The Hungarian Nationality in Romania, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 23-24), there are about 1.5 million active Hungarian churchgoers in Rumania. This number represents 92.6% of the Hungarian population shown in the same booklet. The magnitude of this percentage, however, is clearly absurd given the well-known pressures in Communist countries against practicing one's religion. The comparable percentage for the United States, where freedom of worship is fully protected, is only 62.9%. Taking the given 1.5 millio Hungarian churchgoers and applying 62.9%, a figure probabl still an exaggeration for a Communist country, the size of th Hungarian population would be approximately 2.4 million.

During his 1976 visit in the United States, a high-rankin official from Rumania provided a still more astonishing exampl of the internal inconsistences in Rumanian statistics. Seekin to prove the vast freedom of worship for minorities in Rumania he quoted the results of a new survey to determine the numbe of Hungarians belonging to each of six religiou denominations. When added up, however, the six figures totale 1,724,000 or 17,126 more Hungarian churchgoers than the entir Hungarian population according to the Rumanian census taken year later!

The Rumanian regime uses several techniques t underrepresant the size of the Hungarian minority. One metho is to eliminate two ancient Hungarian groups from populatio data on Hungarians: the Csángós and the Székelys. The Csángó number about 250,000 and are the only major group o Hungarians which lived under Rumanian sovereignty even befor the Rumanian annexation of Transylvania. They have comprised minority amidst Rumanians for centuries, living in Moldavi outside the Carpathian basin. They are never counted a Hungarians despite the fact that they have preserved thei distinct Hungarian language, culture and Roman Catholic faith As Károly Király reports in his most recent letter (Appendix p. A-2):

> In the last census they were denied even the possibility of declaring themselves Hungarian, and were officially declared Rumanian. Such actions could not have happened in the past, even under the most reactionary regimes.

The statistical annihilation of the Csángós as Hungarian is only part of the government's campaign against them. I 1958, for example, they still had 72 schools. Today they hav none ("Memorandum," by György Lázár, in Witnesses to Cultura Genocide, p. 124). Further, not only Hungarians from Hungar but Transylvanian Hungarians as well are discouraged throug intimidation from visiting the Csángó region. In recent years a Transylvanian Hungarian ethno-musicologist, the widel respected Zoltán Kallós, was imprisoned on false charges o homosexuality while he was engaged in researching the fol music of the Csangos.

The Székelys (sometimes called Szeklers in English) on the other hand, are an autochthonous population of Transylvania. They are *often*, though not always counted separately from Hungarians in spite of their being proudly Hungarian and indeed, the most resistant to the inroads of forceful Rumanianization. In any case, the distinction between the Székelys and other Hungarians is of purely historic interest and is no more or no less significant than, for example, the distinction between the Normans and other Frenchmen, Prussians and other Germans, or Highland and Lowland Scots. According to an English historian "they differ, in their own eyes, from the other Magyars only in being more Magyar than they" (C.A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 255). The Rumanian policy of playing up this distinction and completely excluding the 250,000 Csángós, can have no other end than to reduce the significance of the Hungarian population to which all Hungarians -- Székely, Csángó or otherwise -- equally belong.

Another sly tactic involves the demographic questionnaire used to compile census data (most recently, in January 1977). The form contains three spaces requiring identification as to "citizenship", "nationality" and "mother tongue", in that order. The census taker is instructed not to complete the "nationality" blank, as if he had forgotten to pose the question. As "citizenship" is obviously Rumanian, where "mother tongue" is Hungarian, the blank is later filled in as follows: "Nationality: Hungarian-speaking Rumanian". The result statistically, is one less member of the Hungarian nationality and one more Rumanian. This artificial distinction between nationality and mother tongue, together with the "correction" of the census returns, serves the dual purpose of understating the size of the Hungarian population and increasing the number of Rumanians. This practice was uncovered by the International Commission of Jurists ("The Hungarian Minority Problem in Rumania," *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*, No. 17, December 1963, p. 41):

> The Rumanian National Statistical Office carried out a census in 1956 and it was emphasized that the civil servants carrying out the census were obliged to call attention in each case to the basic difference between nationality, i.e., ethnic origin, and mother tongue. All persons registered had to state to which national ethnic group they belonged. The distinction

> between national group and mother-tongue and the obligation to state before officials one's national group drive a wedge between a people and its culture and this indeed is reflected in the figures given by the census. For every thousand people of declared Hungarian origin there were one thousand and forty-two giving Hungarian as their mother-tongue. It is difficult to believe that Hungarian, difficult and almost unrelated to other languages, is the mother-tongue of any but Hungarians, and yet 4.2% of the Hungarian minority group shrank from stating that they were Hungarian. The reasonable conclusion to be drawn from this is that in their eyes it was better not to declare oneself to be Hungarian.

7. Confiscation of Church Archives

In 1948 the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide accepted the following definition as one of the ways by which the crime of cultural genocide may be committed (United Nations Document E/447):

> ...systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship.

As noted earlier, regardless of the fact that the final text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide did not incorporate the above language, Rumania's recent behavior exactly corresponds with this definition.

Act No. 63 of November 2, 1974 on the Protection of the National Cultural Treasury and Decree/Law 207 (1974) (amending Decree/Law 472 (1971) on the National Archives) are major tools used to eradicate the history of the Hungarian cultural institutions. Under the above laws, the goverment summarily nationalized all "documents, official and private correspondence, recordings, diaries, manefestos, posters, sketches, drawings, engravings, imprints, seals, and like material" over thirty years old, from the possession of religious and cultural institutions or private citizens. The pretext was the "protection" of these documents but the real intent soon became obvious from the crude and summary manner by which the regulations were enforced.

The Swiss daily Neue Zürcher Zeitung ("Bureaucratic Chicanery Against the Churches in Rumania", February 1/2, 1975, p.6) reported this outrage in the following manner:

> The intent behind the nationalization of the ecclesiastical archives is to sever the religious communities from their historical roots. A church without a past /tradition/ has no future, especially one which represents a religious and national minority. The first victim of these warlike designs against the religious and cultural minorities by the Rumanian regime was the Hungarian Reformed Church in the northeast districts of Oradea, Satumare, Baia-Mare and Zalau. Here in the mother country of the Reformation in Transylvania, appeared officials from the State Archive, assisted by an authorized agent from the Department of Culture and a representative from the episcopate, who seized the archives of approximately two-hundred church communities and deaneries. The material was -- in many cases without receipt -- loaded onto trucks and carted away. The historical order of the archives has become completely disrupted in the process -- one method of "reserving" and"protecting" historical materials -- rendering scientific research for the next decades impossible. The Rumanian government has openly embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed Church and the Hungarian nationality /minority/...
>
> It would be much easier and simpler, from a scientific point of view, if the church archives were to keep the originals and were to hand out copies to the state. In this way, the claimed scientific concern by the state would be amply maintained, and the articles would remain in the archives, instead of being transported away to distant, unknown and possibly inaccessible locations.

> Especially the two "reformed" churches /i.e., the Reformed and Lutheran/ have been preserving in their archives the tradition of their religious and linguistic individuality, dating back to the time of the Reformation.

These church archives had for centuries been inventoried by the churches themselves. The archives were generally in excellent order and condition but more importantly, they were accessible to researchers. The immense archive of the Roman Catholic episcopate of Oradea (Nagyvárad), for example, was housed in a building built in the 18th century and equipped expressly for that purpose. The archive is now stored in a warehouse of the castle in the city, inaccessible to scholars. Similarily, as a consequence of neglect and mistreatment by the authorities, the archive of the Roman Catholic episcopate of Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) has been almost completely destroyed. The archives of the Roman Catholic lyceum of Oradea (Nagyvárad), and of the Reformed Church Colleges of Orastie (Szászváros), Sighetul Marmatiei (Máramarossziget), and Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) have also suffered severe deterioration. ("Memorandum," by Lajos Takács, in Witnesses to Cultural Genocide, pp. 155-156.)

For the past 26 years Rumania has maintained absolutely no facilities for the professional training of archivists, not even in Rumanian. (During the "legislative debate" surrounding the passage of Act No. 63, Ceausescu himself was astonished to learn this fact.) The few archivists extant in Rumania are not expert in ancient Slavic, ancient Greek, Hungarian and Latin, the languages in which these documents were written. The richest Hungarian collection in the country, the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), does not employ a single Hungarian expert (ibid., pp. 156-157).

The above-mentioned outrages form part of a systematic effort to re-write Rumanian history in order to supress the significance of the indigenous Hungarian culture. Another means for achieving the same objective was reported by the Financial Times ("Transylvania's Ethnic Strains," April 2, 1974):

> A favourite device is to 'facelift' the tombs and crypts of famous Hungarian families in the medieval Házsongard cemetery

in Cluj by alloting them to recently dead Rumanians. In this way, the ethnic composition of the former population, now dead, is restructured favourably.

8. Harassment of Churches

The multinational region of Transylvania has a long heritage of religious freedom. It was in Transylvania that freedom of religion was written into law for the first time in history, in 1568 at the Diet of Torda. Significantly, this momentous event occurred at a time when elsewhere in Europe wars of religious intolerance were raging.

The Rumanian State, through its "Ministry of Cults", exercises a policy of total interference in ecclesiastical matters regardless of their administrative, social, or theological nature. No decision can be implemented by the churches unless it is thoroughly reviewed and approved by the Ministry of Cults. For instance, any social or religious gathering, with the exception of Sunday worship, must be approved by the State. The same condition applies to the right of churches to use their material resources. State approval of such use has been known to take years. Moreover, Protestant congregations are denied the ancient and traditional right to elect their own ministries and persbyters. They may only propose candidates, since the State has reserved the right of selection for itself. Religious instruction is also subject to debilitating government intrusion. While the State does approve religion classes to be held during certain prescribed hours, school authorities are instructed to organize compulsory school activities at precisely the same hours. Non-attendance at such activities results in official reprimand of not only the "delinquent" child but the parents as well.

It should be emphasized that these restrictions harm especially the minority populations. Religious affiliation generally corresponds with nationality in Rumania. The Church then is the only remaining institution which could fulfill the minorities' needs and permit them to nurture their ethnic heritage. In this sense, "harassment of churches" assumes a far greater meaning for minorities than only the curtailment of religious freedoms. Hungarian ministers, for instance, are subjected to severe interrogation, if -- as frequently occurs in the many communities which have no Hungarian school -- they teach children in their native tongue.

The most outrageous abuse of the minority churches, however, is directed against the Hungarian Catholic Csángós in Moldavia. There, even the church was made a tool of denationalization. As Károly Király wrote in his most recent letter (Appendix, p. A-2):

> In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Hungarians and Roman Catholics, they have Rumanian priests, and as a consequence, their services are conducted not in their Hungarian mother tongue, but in the Rumanian language -- not to mention the fact that in the Moldavian villages inhabited by Csángó Hungarians all forms of schooling in and instruction in the mother tongue have been eliminated for two decades.

By paying one third of the salaries of clergymen, the State claims the right to their complete and faithful cooperation. If the situation calls for it, they can be forced at any time to become part of the Communist propaganda machinery -- both at home and abroad. It is no accident, for example, that on June 4, 1976, a five-member delegation of church leaders was herded on three days' notice to the United States to promote the Rumanian Government at various educational and theological institutions. Nor is it accidental that since that time, several other church leaders have been sent on similar public relations missions to American legislators and politicians.

Forced isolation harms minority churches which have sister communities in the West and which are dependent to a great extent on donations from abroad to support their charitable work. Aside from limitations on their travel, clergymen are forbidden to receive gifts from abroad and to correspond with relatives, friends or institutions in non-communist countries.

Freedom to publish theological books, periodicals, and other religious material is extremely limited. The propaganda booklet The Hungarian Nationality in Romania, distributed in 1976 by the "Romanian Library" in New York is able to list only five theological books published in Hungarian in the last quarter-century (p. 25). For the 700,000 members of the Hungarian Reformed Church (p. 23), only one bimonthly publication can be circulated in a mere 1,000 copies (p. 43). Furthermore, church libraries are forbidden to lend any books, even though they were acquired through the donations of the very same parishioners who might wish to borrow them.

The Hungarian Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj (Kolozsvár) came into being in 1949 as a result of forced unification of the independent Presbyterian and Unitarian Theological Institutes. This institute is indeed, as the above-mentioned propaganda booklet claims, "a unique institute" (p. 24): Through this forced unification, both the Presbyterian and Unitarian Churches were deprived of their ancient tradition of self-determination which had included the training of their own ministers. The curriculum of the Protestant Theological Institute is now carefully designed and supervised by the Ministry of Cults. Examinations, which are all oral, are chaired by an Inspector from the Ministry of Cults to insure that future clergymen of the Hungarian minority keep in line with State policy.

Verification of the statements above and further details concerning the situation of minority churches in Rumania can be provided by several high-ranking American Protestant church leaders who have taken a direct interest in that situation.

9. Bans on Private Lodging

Decree/Law 225 (1974) prohibits the accomodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes with the exception of closest relatives. The punishment for disobeying this law is a draconic fine of 15,000 leis (about $1,200) which is imposed on the unfortunate host. The law was ostensibly created for the protection of the hotel industry and applied to all visitors. The discriminatory character of the law becomes obvious, however, in light of the fact that it is the 2.5 million Hungarians who have the greatest number of relatives and potential visitors abroad -- among the 10.5 million Hungarians in neighboring Hungary alone, not to mention the several million Hungarians in the West who have escaped Rumania's intolerant atmosphere since World War I. Indeed it is difficult to find a Hungarian family in Rumania without relatives or close friends living in either Hungary or the West. Due to the extreme scarcity of hotel facilities in rural Transylvania, the generally modest means of these would-be visitors, and especially the threat of harassment and intimidation for even the most innocent failure to obey the unreasonable and selectively enforced provisions of this law, visits are often rendered a practical impossibility.

A Neue Zürcher Zeitung reporter (April 3/4, 1977, p. 4), finding this law to be obviously discriminatory against

Hungarians, interpreted its existence as resulting from a fear inherent in Rumanian internal policy "which sees in any visitor from Hungary, a country which by Communist standards is less orthodox, a carrier of the dangerous bacteria of freedom". One wonders at the true extent of oppression in Rumania, where visits even by citizens of a "fellow socialist country" are subject to official obstruction.

Claims concerning the alleged non-discriminatory nature of Rumania's restrictions on foreign visitors have become especially untenable since the issuance of Decree/Law 372 (November 8, 1976) amending Decree/Law 225. According to its text, one of the express purposes of the new Decree is to encourage and advance the enrichment of the "Rumanian language and culture", unmistakably excluding a similar desire for minority languages or cultures. Moreover, the lifting of visiting restrictions and the elimination of currency exchange requirements apply only to visitors of "Rumanian origin"; reports indicate that at border crossings this vague category is strictly interpreted to include only those of Rumanian nationality as determined by the name and birthplace appearing on travel documents or according to similar unwritten and arbitrary criteria.

10. Falsification of History

The Rumanian Government is obviously annoyed by the fact that for many centuries before the first arrival of Rumanians in the region of present-day Rumania, several other nationalities (today's national minorities) had already inhabited that area. Nevertheless, in order to prove the Rumanians' historical "precedence" in the area, the government -- through its academic mercenaries -- has utilized an unproven theory based largely on pseudo-scientific speculation. According to this theory the Rumanians are descendants of the ancient Dacians, a people whose last proven presence in the area predates the appearance of Rumanians there by nine centuries. Although this theory has little credence in the eyes of any serious non-Rumanian scholar, according to a *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reporter (April 3/4, 1977, p. 3), it has been elevated to the level of State ideology.

At this point it should be noted that arguments concerning the historical priority of peoples living many centuries ago *have no relevance whatsoever* to the rules of international law governing the treatment of national minorities; *still less can such arguments be used as an excuse* for the oppression of 3.5

million minority individuals. The only reason for dealing with this theory is to point out the sinister goal which its promotion serves in Rumania today.

The theory does not stop at the assertion of Rumanian priority. Rumania's historians today stigmatize minority groups as "intruders" who upset the social and cultural order of the "original inhabitants", the Rumanians. In many cases, textbooks, travel guides and other literature actually re-christen Hungarian historical figures and make them into Rumanian national heroes having no connection with the Hungarian people. The same materials contain an almost absolute silence on the centuries of Transylvania's Hungarian history.

In this way, the dynamism and superiority of the Rumanian people becomes "historically proven", while national minority inhabitants, lacking historical or cultural roots of comparable brilliance, are considered no more than second-class citizens. One devastating practical effect of this process in Rumania today is that minority children are taught that the cultural richness of the area is solely the result of Rumanian creativity, thereby making those children ashamed of their ethnic identity. The remaining schools which still educate children in Hungarian must use official textbooks which teach these children that their nationality has no past in the area. Without a past, by implication, this nationality can have no future -- unless, of course, it assimilates into the resplendent Rumanian people.

The notion of Rumanian superiority thus provides a convenient "scholarly" justification for implementing the massive campaign of forced assimilation against minorities, involving the vast array of discriminatory measures noted above.

CONCLUSION

The Committee for Human Rights in Rumania was organized in the belief that Congress intends to enforce section 402 of the Trade Act. Further hope was evoked in us by the emphasis on the role of human rights in our foreign policy and by the fact that Congress has repeatedly endorsed this policy.

Adherence to existing international law and full restoration of minority institutions is all we demand of the Rumanian government. We believe these demands to be fair and reasonable. The Rumanian Trade Agreement provides the United States with strong leverage to promote such noble objectives. It should be utilized to its full extent to pressure Rumania to alter its outrageous minority policies. The most effective action which this Subcommittee can now take is to adopt a resolution disapproving the President's recommendation to waive section 402 of the Trade Act with regard to Rumania.

APPENDIX

Comrade Ilie Verdet,
Prime Minister of the
Socialist Republic of Rumania

Two years have passed since our last conversation at your office in the company of Petre Lupu, Teodor Coman and Janos Vinte. Since that time, numerous events have transpired in the life of our country. The 12th. Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party and the 2nd. Congress of the Democratic Front of the Socialist Union have been held. Our conversation on October 4, 1977 was particularly significant. At your urgent request, I submitted a memorandum (of which you kept two copies) which summarized several key discussions and confrontations.

In essence, we agreed that I would drop the idea of forming a new organisation for the co-inhabiting nationalities, whose function would have been to defend their constitutional rights. I made this concession on the condition that -and I quote from the abovementioned memorandum:

"... all necessary steps are taken to guarantee the rights provided for in the Constitution and other laws, including the practical implementation of these rights in all areas --education, cultural activity and use of the native tongue in all organizations and official bodies without discrimination of any kind-- provided that disciplinary action is taken against those individuals, government employees and police officials who violate such rights.

I abandoned the idea of a new nationality statute on the grounds that the Party and government leadership will take concrete measures to respect and implement the Constitution and the laws of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. My opinion with respect to the nationality statute is that as soon as those provisions of the Constitution and other laws pertaining to the nationalities are implemented, in other words, when the nationalities are granted the unobstructed use of their rights, the proposal for a nationality statute becomes unnecessary. In that event, I am willing to give up the idea which was presented in my letter to Comrade Verdet.

What I do consistently maintain is that definite steps must be taken toward the elimination of the existing shortcomings and abuses, wherever and in whatever form they appear. Only in this way can a nationality feel itself at home, that its mother country, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, is a good mother, who loves each one of her sons equally, without regard to nationality."

During the discussion, you asked me to be patient, because the Party would take steps to remedy the mistakes which had been committed. I was gratified by your assertion that these steps would be implemented after a thorough and detailed analysis of the recommendations which I, and many other nationality representatives in Rumania had made. Though I did not trust entirely in these promises, I hoped and impatiently waited for the deeds to follow. Unfortunately, practically nothing has been done to solve these problems, to change the situation of the national minorities. I am now compelled by these broken promises to raise this question again. What has happened in the area of minority problems, has engendered only dissatisfaction.

- In the area of education the opportunity for children to study in the mother tongue has narrowed even further. Classes in the mother tongue have been eliminated, and in their place, mixed Rumanian-Hungarian, Rumanian-German, etc., classes have been set up. The discriminatory Decree Law 258 was not repealed. In the Bánát and the Mezoség region of Transylvania there are communities and cities where there is not a single Hungarian-language class, elementary or trade school. In Moldavia, in entirely Hungarian Csángó communities, no form of education in the mother tongue exists.

- No improvements can be found in the higher levels of education either, where the situation is also continuously deteriorating.

- Nothing has changed for the better in the use of the mother tongues of the national minorities. In the administration of justice, the state organs, etc., the only language permitted is Rumanian. In meetings of the Party, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, as well as in meetings of industrial or agricultural workers, all presentations are made in the Rumanian language, even where the overwhelming majority of the audience is not Rumanian. The Rumanian language remains in use even at meetings of the Nationality Workers' Councils. It appears that religious service is the only occasion when the mother tongue may be used without restriction. However, the Moldavian Csángó villages are an exception even to this. In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Hungarians and Roman Catholics, they have Rumanian priests, and as a consequence, their services are conducted not in their Hungarian mother tongue, but in the Rumanian language. Not to mention the fact that in the Moldavian villages inhabited by Csángó Hungarians all forms of schooling and instruction in the mother tongue have been eliminated for two decades. In the last census they were denied even the possibility of declaring themselves Hungarian, and were officially declared Rumanian. Such actions would not have happened in the past, even under the most reactionary regimes.

- As regards the Nationality Councils, their activities are determined exclusively by orders from above. These Councils do not represent the interests of the nationalities. The people belonging to these nationalities cannot participate in the activities of the Councils, and do not elect Council members. The local authorities and the Party Central Committee appoint them. The Party uses these Councils to enforce its own discriminatory nationality policies. To get to the head of these Committees, one must have the following qualifications:

- He should be a man without character.
- He should be able to clap vigorously
- He should speak only when the Party asks him to, and he should say what the Party wants him to say (naturally one must submit one's speeches in writing beforehand).

An extremely burning issue is the total lack of protection of the collective rights of Rumania's national minorities, whether the nationality group is large, as in the case of the Hungarians and Germans, or small as in the case of the Serbs, Russians, Turks, Bulgarians, etc. None of them enjoys collective rights.

This lack precipitates the dissolution of ethnic communities and renders their members increasingly defenseless against the policies of forced assimilation. After getting rid of the Jews, we are going in the most direct way toward getting rid of the Saxons and Swabians, and finishing the denationalization of such small ethnic communities as the Armenians, Tartars, Turks, etc. All that remains is the problem of the Hungarians, which is more intricate and more difficult to solve. It was for this reason that a special strategy and tactic was worked out, which may be found -naturally in veiled form- among the propositions of the 10th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party. During the Central Committee conferences which preceded the Congress, the problem of what road the Party should follow to "solve the nationality question" was raised. Three hypotheses which could be pursued toward this solution were worked out: assimilation, homogenization, integration. These propositions, accepted by the Party, upheld the idea that in Communism there is but a single nation. In Rumania, this nation will be realized through the unification (homogenization) of the socialist society, naturally as a consequence of total assimilation carried out by any means and at any price.

Thus, the saying that "the end justifies the means" is a guiding principle. The panel working under the direction of Comrade Paul Niculescu Mizil came to the conclusion that these methods and ideas have become discredited in both theory and practice. Consequently, they proposed a new formula: "the creation of the unified socialist nation". This reactionary formulation dressed in socialist clothes, however, can no longer be found in the documents of the 11th. and 12th. Congress. On the other hand, other formulations such as the following, were born:

a) Let us speak the language of socialism.
b) Let us speak the language of technology -that is instead of the mother tongue, the national minorities of Rumania are provided a political language. Thus, the concept of the political nation was borrowed from the arsenal of 19th Century nationalism, and as a consequence, steps were taken to intensify the forced assimilation of the national minorities:

- All community organizations with nationality characteristics were abolished.
- The Ministry whose task it was to oversee and protect the nationalities was abolished.
- The question of a nationalities statute was obviously forgotten (one has not been enacted for 25 years).
- The Hungarian Autonomous Region was abolished.
- Since 1955, education in the mother tongue has been curtailed, in the beginning through merger, then through elimination.

Naturally in each case it was emphasized that these steps aim at the solidification of the fraternal unity of the Rumanian and co-inhabiting nationalities; that they reflect the most righteous policies of Marxism-Leninism for the solution of the nationality question. I think there is no reason for me to make any further remarks on the nationality policies of the RCP lead by First Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The generous overindustrialization of Transylvania, particularly of the Hungarian inhabited areas, about which so much is made, and for which so much gratitude is expected of the locals, is based on this policy.

On the excuse of labor shortage, masses of people from Historic Rumania are brought not only into the cities, but into the villages as well. If it were true that all this is being done out of love for the nationalities, then the possibilities of study in and use of the mother tongue would not be hindered. The use of the "language of socialism" and "technology" would not be required instead of the mother tongue.

The propaganda of the Party, employs all the means at its disposal to try to make the Rumanian inhabitants believe that the Hungarians and Germans must pay for the atrocities committed during the time of Hitler and Horthy. The truth is that the fascist system committed many offenses against the population of Transylvania but it is much more guilty in its atrocities against the progressive forces in Hungary. Every fascist system in the world is guilty of crimes against humanity. Neither Antonescu's fascist system, nor the Maniu Guard is exempt of guilt for such crimes in 1944-45. They committed not a few crimes against the Rumanian, Jewish, Hungarian and German population. Let us not differentiate among fascisms. Neither was worse or better depending on national characteristics. The peoples whom they terrorized in equal measure, cannot be held accountable for their deeds. Thus I cannot agree with raising guilt feelings in any people, be it German, Italian, Spanish or Rumanian. To maintain such a psychosis regarding the Hungarian population is malice premeditated with political ends in mind. (See the article "The Night of St. Bartholomew", printed in Scienteia in 1978, and other articles).

Basically, the main reason for these schemes, is to mislead the masses of the national minorities, to demoralise them with confusion and disorder, and thus totally to disarm them in the face of the policy of forced assimilation. Those who try to protect nationality oppression from abroad, are renounced on the pretext of "meddling in Rumania's internal affairs".

It is time to renounce those reactionary theories and practices that discredit the accepted ones necessary for the building of a thoroughly developed society. It is time to renounce nationality policy devoid of any sincerity.

In the interest of correcting the errors and abuses committed against the nationalities and the national question, and of placing the fraternity and friendship between the Rumanian and the other nationalities on a healthy footing, I consider it necessary that the following measures be instituted:

1) Life within and without the Party must be democratized. The machinations of the totally discredited personality cult must be renounced if the nationality question is to be assured an honorable solution.

2) With regard to the nationality question:

   (a) Three official languages should be equally recognized in the Socialist Republic of Rumania: Rumanian, Hungarian and German.
   (b) A suitable Nationality Statute should be enacted.
   (c) Organizations with elected leadership should be established for the nationalities to practice and protect their rights, as well as to serve the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the majority and the minority nationalities.

(d) In those areas where ethnic communities, be they Hungarian, German, Serb, etc. are in the majority, autonomous local administration should be established on the county or province level. Even if the Rumanian inhabitants are in a majority in the country as a whole, there are places, communities, cities, indeed entire provinces in Transylvania and the Bánát, where people belonging to the various nationalities live, and where they represent the majority.

(e) Radio and television programming, and the press should be provided in three languages: Rumanian, Hungarian and German.

(f) In Transylvania the three languages should be taught in a parallel manner in the schools, and either none of them or all three of them should be mandatory.

All this I propose and insist upon, since equality cannot exist in a subordinate way. Whatever is subordinate cannot be equal, especially in the problematic area of nation and nationality. A subordinate man cannot be equal as a citizen, he cannot be free of material, moral, and intellectual oppression, he cannot be equal to his fellow man, before the Creator and the law. A just society can only exist in a country with a social system which realises social and political equality not in words but in practice.

Only a society which has the courage to solve problems with maximum sincerity and in good faith can be free, and only such a society has the right to call itself socialist. If the Socialist Republic of Rumania carries out such measures, then it can rely on all its sons under any circumstances, whether the problem be sovereignty, or the integrity of the country's borders. Only in this way can our country take its place in the ranks of civilized people, and only in this way can it realise complete unity and lasting friendship among all its citizens, regardless of nationality. The restoration of the rights of the national minorities would in no way hurt the Rumanian people. It does not conflict with their interests and aspirations. The reason the co-inhabiting nationalities have very few rights is not that the Rumanians have too many. On the contrary, it is to the detriment of all if some are lacking rights, since this lack hinders understanding.

The idea of a Rumanian nation superior to others in its past, present, and future, raises empty illusions in the majority and a feeling of inferiority in the country's other inhabitants, who do not receive equal treatment before the law. Placing questions concerning the co-inhabiting nationalities in the light of such claims to superiority brings forth Nazism with all its consequences. The time has come, Comrade Verdet, to face up to the truth, not to allow illusions to cloud out vision, and not to mislead anyone with beautiful, well sounding phrases. The people of these lands have learned over the course of history not believe words, but deeds. As the Rumanian saying goes, "An abudance of talk is poverty". Never and nowhere has there been so much talk about democracy, equality and just solution of the nationality problem as here for the past few years.

With faith in the future,

Károly Király

Tirgu Mures, February 10, 1980.

STATEMENT

on

RUMANIA'S MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

of the

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

of the

UNITED STATES SENATE

on behalf of

THE HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF CONNECTICUT

and

THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

and

THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE WORLD REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN ALLIANCE, NORTH AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN AREA

by

REV. DR. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY

July 21, 1980

My name is Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, pastor of the Calvin United Church of Christ, Fairfield, Connecticut. I appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the Hungarian-American Community of Connecticut. I am also representing the Human Rights Commission of the United Church of Christ (consisting of 2 million members), and the Human Rights Commission of the World Reformed Presbyterian Alliance, North American and Caribbean Area (consisting of major denominations). For myself, I was born in Transylvania and I maintain extensive contacts with fellow Hungarians in that region.

I testified before the Subcommittee on International Trade last summer and two summers ago concerning the refusal of the Rumanian Government to allow aid from Western churches for the repair and reconstruction of Hungarian churches in Rumania damaged during the earthquake of March 4, 1977.

Because the Church represents the last stronghold of minority culture in Rumania, the deterioration of these buildings deprives the congregations of much more than their places of worship. Many of these churches are historic and artistic monuments, built by Hungarians many centuries ago. They represent cultural landmarks for all Hungarians, and their present neglect is clearly a part of the overall campaign by the Rumanian Government to eradicate Hungarian cultural heritage from that part of Europe.

Some of the earthquake-damaged churches have been restored thanks to the forthright and forceful actions of the Swiss, West German and Dutch governments. Those countries pressured the Rumanian Communist Regime to allow the transmittal of church aid (money and building materials) for the repair and reconstruction of the earthquake-damaged Hungarian churches.

Unfortunately, we in the United States were not as successful with forwarding the aid collected in our churches and local communities. Instead of helping us, the State Department gave credence to the Rumanian Government's allegation that Hungarian churches were not even damaged in the earthquake. In responding to Senator Ribicoff's inquiry, for example, the State Department merely repeated the Rumanian Government's claim that: "The earthquake which caused damage to several churches was in two precise regions of Romania and did not hit Transylvania, the area where ethnic Hungarians and Germans live."

State Department Counselor Matthew Nimetz, during his visit to Rumania in early May, 1979, apparently raised this issue with representatives of the Rumanian Government. He reported to us in a letter dated May 25, 1979: "Our Rumanian counterparts were at first skeptical -- as you have heard before -- concerning the possibility of earthquake damage to Transylvanian churches or that funds had not been received by the designated groups." Yet Counselor Nimetz, in spite of the extensive documentation which was made available to him prior to his trip, simply postponed the matter because -- according to his letter -- he was "not totally informed".

Thus, the State Department, instead of assisting in the transmittal of sorely needed funds to the earthquake-damaged churches, played into the hands of the Communist Regime which successfully blocked all possible aid collected in the United States from serving its designated purpose.

From April 20 through May 1, 1980, the Committee on Ways and Means

Trade Subcommittee staff conducted a study visit to Rumania to observe conditions in the Hungarian minority population. In its report, the Study Group presented evidence -- from an official Rumanian source -- that 104 churches had been damaged during the earthquake of 1977. (Apparently, the official who made that admission was not aware of his own government's claim that no Hungarian churches could have been damaged since the earthquake did not even hit Transylvania.)

Several of the damaged churches have, in fact, been repaired. The church in Pachia, Covasna County, for example, was rebuilt through the direct intervention and aid of the Swiss Government and church organizations in Switzerland. Similarly, the fortress church of Sft. Gheorghe was renovated through the efforts and assistance of the West German Government and church in that country. But even its brief visit in Transylvania was enough for the Congressional Study Group to find several Hungarian churches still in disrepair more than three years after the earthquake. The Study Group noted, for example, that the 600 year-old gothic church in Zabala "needs much more work and, in the delegation's opinion cannot be used in its present condition". The delegation should also have noted, however, that the much younger and smaller Rumanian Orthodox church building of Zabala, which also suffered earthquake damage, was immediately renovated through state aid of 192,000 lei. Such omissions can perhaps account for the delegation's conclusion that it "found no evidence that Hungarian religions were more tightly controlled that the others."

The delegation also heard testimony from local church elders of Zabala that it would take 800,000 lei to repair their church building.

Mr. Chairman, last January my own church, the Calvin Synod of the United Church of Christ, sent $10,000 through official channels for this specific purpose. As of today, the church has still not received this money because the Rumanian Government has refused to release it.

Mr. Chairman, we are deeply disappointed by this dismal performance on the part of the Rumanian Government. We do appreciate, Mr. Chairman, your sympathy and deep concern in this matter, but it has been disturbing to us to witness the Rumanian Government's persistent efforts to mislead and confuse you. It has also been a rude and frustrating experience to witness how our own State Department, despite the extensive documentation in its possession, has tried to whitewash a sinister, tyrannical regime and cover up its misdeeds.

In view of the Rumanian Government's unwillingness to provide even the simplest of remedies, we have no alternative, Mr. Chairman, but to urge you in the strongest terms and in accordance with the July 1977 resolution of the General Synod of the United Church of Christ to "terminate the 1975 United States-Rumanian trade agreement and the most-favored-nation status of the Socialist Republic of Rumania".

Senator RIBICOFF. Mr. de Kun, did you want to add something?

STATEMENT OF TAMAS A. de KUN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN TRANSYLVANIAN ASSOCIATION

Ms. DE KUN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Christine de Kun.

Senator RIBICOFF. My apologies.

Mr. DE KUN. My daughter will read my statement.

Senator RIBICOFF. I understand. All right.

Mr. DE KUN. Thank you, Senator.

Ms. DE KUN. Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1975 established the dedication of the United States to the cause of fundamental human rights as the main purpose of the Trade Reform Act. Despite all this, the curtailment of fundamental human rights and cultural freedoms persist in the Socialist Republic of Romania, resulting in devastating effects upon the national minorities.

As we read in the June 3, 1980, press release from the House Subcommittee on Trade, the President and the committee's main concern is the emigration performance of the Romanian Socialist Republic. We would like to ask the following question: Why is the committee so concerned with the fate of a few thousand families who want to emigrate, and why are they forgetting the fate of Europe's largest and most cultured minorities, the 2½ million Hungarians and 400,000 Saxons?

In hearings over the past years on many occasions we presented the atrocities of the Socialist Republic of Romania toward her minorities and the undeniable facts are known worldwide. These conditions are known by most of the members of this committee, and we do not wish to waste time in lengthy reiteration of the current continuance of cultural genocide.

Briefly, the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Genocide accepted the following definition by which the crime of cultural genocide is being committed:

> Systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents, objects of historical, artistic, or religious value, and of objects used in religious worship.

In 1974, the Romanian Government, under Act No. 64, on the Protection of the Natural Cultural Treasury, and Decree Law No. 207, which amended Decree Law 472 on the National Archives, was a primary tool utilized in the liquidation of all ancient Hungarian and Saxon cultural institutions. All documents over 30 years old, especially Hungarian and Saxon church archives, including private correspondence, were nationalized for "the protection and safekeeping."

One of the most respected daily European newspapers, the Neue Zurcher Zeitung, published in their February 12, 1975, issue, that a Romanian State Archive official, assisted by an agent from the Department of Culture, seized the archives of approximately 200 church communities.

Additionally, the Romanian Government has embarked on an escalated campaign against the Reformed and Unitarian Church and the Hungarian nationality.

Furthermore, the Romanian Government has tried to prove the myth of Romania's 2,000-year occupancy of Transylvania. They excavated several 100-year-old tombstones and monuments, exchanging them with Romanian falsifications.

These kinds of activities were reported in the Financial Times and other European papers dated April 2, 1974.

By the authority of the Human Rights Proclamation of the United States, the rights of minorities include equal rights for education, equal job opportunity, equal housing, the right to free worship in the church of one's own choice, the right to speak one's own language, the right to keep and develop one's ethnic-cultural heritage, the right to live in one's ethnic group, and the right of this ethnic group's self-administration.

The Romanian Government is in flagrant violation of each of the previously mentioned human rights regarding the Hungarian, Saxon, and Jewish minorities.

After this introduction of the Romanian Socialist Republic's conduct so far as these minorities are concerned, we, as patriotic, conscientious American citizens, would like to call the committee's attention to seriously consider what benefits the United States will experience economically and politically from the renewal of the most-favored-nation agreement with Romania.

As a reward for her independence from Moscow, Romania was granted most-favored-nation status by Congress. That decision overlooked the fact that this independence is not established on respect for human liberty. The fact is that Romania today is the most blatant internal oppressor of all the Soviet satellites.

Free emigration for a small percentage of these minorities will not cure the problem. More importantly, the 2½ million Hungarians and 400,000 Saxons want to live, work, and prosper in their 1,000-year-old homeland.

The Romanian Socialist Republic is located approximately 4,000 miles from the United States, bordered on one side by the Soviet Union and on three sides by her faithful satellites. Therefore, it is very difficult to assume that she is capable of implementing trade and foreign policies independent from Moscow. Their ulterior motive is to take advantage of our good will and play on the sympathy of our Nation.

[The following was subsequently supplied for the record:]

ENCLOSURE 2

IS RUMANIA A RELIABLE POLITICAL PARTNER FOR THE WESTERN NATIONS?

"Rumanian policy has always rested on the axiom that Rumania must enter wars at a minimum risk, always find a place at peace conferences at the victors' side, so as to extract the greatest advantages at the cost of the smallest sacrifice possible." (Aldo Dami, the great Swiss expert of national minorities' problems.)

To exemplify this statement we would like to mention a few facts from the 20th century:

Rumania extended the Austro-Rumanian Treaty of 1883 for a decade in 1913. Already in 1916 Rumania had joined the Allies which was a stab in the back to her former allies "because she anticipated our victory not for the sake of our just cause... and when she left us in the lurch on May 8th, 1918, having signed a peace treaty, which Clemenceau qualified as a disgraceful art of cowardice, she did so for fear of having backed the wrong horse. In November 1918 she sided with us once more, falling into the back of Field Marshall Mackensen's retreating armies, because we were victorious and she was determined to get her share of the booty... "What a damned audacity," exclaimed Clemenceau. (Former French Senator Henri Pozzi: Les Coupables, Paris, 1934, pp 95-96).

When the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for 1918-1919 were opened in 1972, they shed new and startling lights on the Transylvanian affairs that led eventually to the Treaty of Trianon. It became quite evident that Clemenceau had to pay off the Rumanians at once with Transylvanian territory they coveted, because of the sudden crisis on South Russia where allied troops under French command were being defeated by the Red Army and quick reinforcements were needed from neighboring Rumania. That was the price for the promised Rumanian support of the treatened French force and that military situation was perpetuated and eventually transcribed politically into the Treaty of Trianon in 1919. The sole victor was Rumania, again.

To justify their enormous territorial gains because of the Treaty of Trianon, the Rumanians developed a totally undocumented theory suggesting that they were the descendants of the Dacian-Romans and consequently Transylvania belonged to them by historical rights. We do not want to cite a long list of the most distinguished scientists of this century who rejected that theory, except maybe one, Pierre George, the world renowned professor of the Sorbonne, Paris, and of the Institute d'Etudes Politiques de l'Universite de Paris. He wrote: "The theory of the so-called continuity making the Rumanians descendants of the Romanized Dacians was actually abandoned. The gap of a thousand years between the withdrawal of the Romans from Transylvania '3rd century' and the date of the earliest existing document that accounts of the presence of the Rumanians (so-called Vallachs) in that country (Charter of Fogaras, in 1222) creates a major difficulty for such assimilation. On the contrary, the archives of the Balkans and the linguistic studies allow us to pursue a slow process of the pastoral Vallach population from the Macedonian and Albanian borders to the Danubien plains between the 10th and 14th centuries. ... The Rumanian language and civilization were formed in the Balkans. ... The Rumanian nation is the most synthetic of the nations of Central Europe. They crossed the path of the Hungarians which have the benefit of being the earlier settlers. ..." From: L'Europe Central, pp 239-240, by Pierre George and Jean Tricart, Paris, 1954.

Even Lloyd George who was one of the leading characters during the discussions of the Treaty said in 1928: "All the documentation we were furnished with by certain allies during the negotiations with said country, were falsehoods and trickeries, we have decided on that." (Henry Pozzi: La Guerre Revient, Paris 1933, p 303). - It makes one think of the terrifying words allegedly pronounced by Frederick II of Prussia: "I grab, I loot, and I steal, thereafter it is up to my lawyers to find the appropriate justification."

In the same fashion, Rumania signed a treaty with France and Great Britain in 1939, to secure her frontiers vis-a-vis Hungary. Yet, in the same year she signed a treaty on economic matters with Germany. The German-Soviet non-oppression pact of the same year left Bessarabia in the sphere of interest of the Soviet Union. On June 28, 1940 the Soviet Union occupied Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. The Tatarescu government was helpless, but then renounced the French-British security pact and requested openly from the German Reich to secure her new frontiers and to send military missions to Rumania. On September 1, 1940 General Ian Atnonescu demanded that the Rumaninan King Carol to renounce his power as supreme military commander and invite the extreme-right Iron Guard into the government.

Mass demonstrations against the King turned the situation into a crisis. They protested the decision of the "Second Vienna Award," an arbitration that the Rumanian government requested. The decision returned Northern Transylvania to Hungary again - where it belonged for 1000 years, except for the 20 years after the Treaty of Trianon. ("Hungary's right to Transylvania is much more justified, than is France's claim to Alsace-Lorraine." - Aldo Dami: La Hongrie de Demain, Paris 1932, pp 95-96. - The latter's population is 80% Germanic and belonged to France for only 250 years; whereas Transylvania belonged to Hungary for 1000 years.) King Carol renounced his throne in favor of his son and left the country. Antonescu became head of state (conducatur statuli) and formed a coalition government with the Iron Guard. The Guard committed enormous atrocities, killed 64 political antagonists, among them the famous historian Nicolae Jorga. Antonescu visited Hitler on November 23, 1940 and joined the Axis Powers. The next year Hitler promised to reward Rumania with Transylvania. Rumania took part in the military operations against the Soviet Union. Then in 1943 she began secret negotiations with the Allies again. The following year Hitler told Antonescu that the Hungarians lost any claim for Transylvania because of their neutral attitude, but asked Antonescu not to talk about it. On August 23, 1944 the Soviet troops encircled the Rumanian-German forces. The King arrested Antonescu and handed him to the Communist party. On August 25, 1944 Rumania declared war on Germany.

Now, how is it at the present? Rumania is widely considered by the western nations as a reliable party and one which can be turned away from the Communist Block. This is wishful thinking. As in 1956, when the entire free world showed its sympathy toward Hungary's new tragic drama, Rumania ordered mass arrests in Transylvania and hundreds were put to death. In one trial alone in Cluj, thirteen out of fifty-seven accused were executed (George Bradley, American journalist, the Reporter of November 1964). Contrary to the western nations, Rumania did not even want to take a neutral attitude but competed with the Soviet terror. When Rumania senses the weakness of the western powers, she turns to the other side.

Currently, the western world has to live in a very dangerous crisis because of the Iranian and Afghanistan situation. The entire free world's future is at stake. Rumania true to her tradition, plays the Russian-tune now, as it became obvious recently. Why? Again "to extract the greatest advantages at the cost of the smallest sacrifice possible."

Prepared by the American-Transylvanian Association, Washington, D. C.

A 12 . . . Friday, June 6, 1980 THE WASHINGTON POST

Economic Crunch Thwarts Hopes of Prosperity in Romania

By Michael Dobbs
Special to The Washington Post

BUCHAREST—President Nicolae Ceausescu's hopes for a modern, industrialized Romania by the end of the century appear to be clouded by the country's deeply rooted economic difficulties.

For years, this Balkan country of 22 million people has been persuaded to accept one of the lowest standards of living in Eastern Europe for the sake of the well-being of future generations. Now even that goal is increasingly threatened and Romanian economists are having to drastically scale down their ambitious targets for economic growth.

The immediate reason for Romania's economic difficulties is the worldwide energy crisis, which has caused serious problems for the one Soviet Bloc country that refuses to rely on Moscow for its oil. But Western economists and many Romanians themselves are convinced the real malaise lies deeper: years of over-centralization and a general mood of passivity among ordinary people.

The high cost of oil on world markets, combined with shortages, has already forced Romania to revise its 1976-1980 five-year plan, which called for an annual 11 percent growth in national income. Western experts calculate that growth rates have dropped from 7.6 percent in 1978 to 4.7 percent in 1979 and an estimated 3 to 3½ percent this year.

For the traveler from other East European countries, entering Romania is like going back in a time machine to a dimly remembered Stalinist past. The economic experiments and political upheavals that have swept the rest of the Soviet Bloc appear to have largely passed Romania by. This is a society that still relies predominantly on the old Communist Party techniques of five-year plans, police repression, and the personality cult.

It is true that, under Ceausescu's leadership, Romania has succeeded in asserting its right to an independent foreign policy. But the display of autonomy abroad has brought few benefits at home and the quality of life—measured in terms of either democratic freedoms or living standards—is lower than most other countries in Eastern Europe.

Random impressions on a 10-day tour of Romania conjure up the image of a full-blooded socialist country in the throes of industrialization — a place where few, if any, concessions are made to the spirit of private enterprise.

At the frontier, there is a four-hour delay as officials consult Bucharest on whether to admit the visiting journalist. A clerk at the exchange office rejects a 1969-series $10 note because the motto "In God We Trust" is not emblazoned on the back. The customs officer asks if the visitor has "any weapons or documents" to declare and flicks suspiciously through a two-month-old Western newspaper used for packaging.

In the suburbs of big towns, factories belch out smoke above red banners proclaiming: "Glory to the Romanian Communist Party." Street lighting is dimmed or nonexistent because of drastic oil-saving measures. During an unseasonably cold spring, foreign tourists shiver in unheated hotel rooms and Romanian office workers report for work in overcoats.

In the countryside, children cluster round a battered Western car, comparing it favorably with the ubiquitous Dacia, the Romanian version of a Renault. Traditionally garbed peasants stop the visitor to ask if he has anything to sell: jeans, cassettes, stockings, cigarettes, even ball-points.

In cities throughout Romania, the foreign visitor is also aware of what one Bucharest resident described as "the stench of socialism." It is a mixture of low-octane gasoline, sweat, cheap perfume, sour cabbage, and disinfectant. It seems to be disappearing elsewhere in Eastern Europe—but is still as strong as ever here.

But perhaps Romania's most striking characteristic, compared to its Soviet Bloc neighbors, is the full-blown personality cult accorded Ceausescu. On his 62nd birthday in January, Ceausescu was dubbed "a lay god" by one poet—a status that even the Soviet Union's Leonid Brezhnev has not attained.

Confronted with difficulties, Ceausescu's style has been to promise sweeping reforms, reshuffle key personnel, and beat the nationalist drum.

As an experienced foreign analyst remarked: "Gestures have been made in devolving responsibility, but these remain gestures. . . . This is a unitary state in which every important issue crosses Ceausescu's desk. He still wants to take all the decisions himself."

In part, the Romanian tradition of centralization reflects a fear of divisive influences. In addition to the Romanian majority, there are sizable Hungarian and German minorities with traditions of their own. Romania only became a unitary state in 1918 and its component regions of Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia have very different cultural and historic backgrounds.

But there can also be little doubt that Ceausescu himself is most reluctant to allow any challenge to develop to his undisputed authority. In this, he is supported by his increasingly influential wife, Elena, who was appointed first deputy prime minister earlier this year and also has overall responsibility for cadres.

A 61-year-old chemical engineer, Mrs. Ceausescu is described by subordinates as "vindictive and domineering." A Western diplomat commented: "She holds grudges. If you cross her, you're likely to find yourself holding a small job in a country town."

The temple of the Ceausescu personality cult is a special exhibition at the Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest containing gifts and decorations to the 62-year-old leader. One huge painting depicts Ceausescu apparently ascending above the clouds with a white-robed Elena, accompanied by Young Communist Pioneers and the dove of peace.

Despite widespread grumbling, and jokes at Ceausescu's expense, there is little sign of any serious threat to his position. Romanians have much less opportunity than other East European citizens for travel abroad, and they do not constantly compare themselves with the West. So strict are travel regulations that the staff of the passport office is said to be rotated monthly to prevent corruption.

Dissatisfaction is expressed in terms of a passive attitude to work rather than open opposition. A frequent joke among factory and office workers is: "They pretend to pay us and we pretend to work."

Ceausescu himself has complained of low productivity, saying that a worker in the West could produce at least three times as much as a Romanian worker given the level of technology in Romanian factories. In the long run, this kind of passive resistance by ordinary people could represent the biggest single threat to his regime, and to his vision of a modern and independent Romania.

We are not certain how many Government grants are reaching Romania. However, the Export-Import Bank of the United States made direct loans and credits. We have a list here of some of these loans and credits.

[The following was subsequently supplied for the record:]

AMERICAN-TRANSYLVANIAN
ASSOCIATION
3708 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Additional Testimony by Tamas A. deKun to the
original Testimony of July 21, 1980. page No.2
paragraph No.2.

Submitted To:
Chairman
Abraham A. Ribicoff
Senate Subcommittee on International Trade
August 6, 1980

U.S. Government loans to Rumania in 1079, source: Expert Import Bank of the U. S. Annual Report for 1979

$27,724,255 for specefied projects

$100,000,000 for unspecefied projects

Most of the Expert-Import Bank loans will come to maturity between 1983-85 which will mean extraordinary hardships for the Rumanian Communist Government.

World Bank and I. D. A. loned to the Rumanian Government in 1979

$225,000,000

The same Organisations loaned $900,000,000 to date with maturity dates between 1991-94.

ENCLOSURE, No. I.

Senator Ribicoff. That will go into the record, your list.

Ms. de Kun. Very well, sir.

These loans provided by our banks certainly affect the American taxpayer. Considering that Romania in her 100-year-old history has never upheld a defense treaty, but very cleverly "turned coat" to serve only her own interests, it must be reemphasized that every American dollar which is appropriated to aid Communist countries such as Romania is not only wasteful but suicidal.

As conscientious and patriotic American representatives and citizens, we must examine how the renewal of the trade agreements would enhance the welfare and economic stability of our fellow citizens. Consequently, we request that the committee revoke the extension of the most-favored-nation status of Romania.

Senator Ribicoff. Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned. If you talk with the staff, let's try to arrange something to go into this in a little more depth.

Mr. Havadtoy. Thank you, sir.

[Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

[By direction of the chairman the following communications were made a part of the hearing record:]

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LANE KIRKLAND
THOMAS R. DONAHUE

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 637-5000

August 4, 1980

Honorable Abraham Ribicoff, Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Chairman Ribicoff:

The AFL-CIO continues to oppose the waiver of the freedom of emigration provisions of the Trade Act. Further extension of waivers for Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China will only serve to promote job losses at home and encourage oppression abroad. This trade is neither free nor fair as now conducted. The costs are being paid by the U.S. economy.

At the December 1979 AFL-CIO Convention, the resolution adopted on International Trade and Investment stated:

> "Trade with Communist countries should be regulated more effectively through improved administration of Title IV of the Trade Act and by additional legislation that recognized the economic and political fact of life that private commercial interests cannot negotiate as effectively with closed and managed economies as can governmental negotiators."

We have called attention in the past to the oppression of labor and human rights in these countries. We are concerned that evidence of more oppression recently has been reported. See the attached press release of Amnesty International. A further continuation of the waiver will only serve to mock the United States' commitment to human rights. It will also continue to cost U.S. workers jobs in shoes, glass, clothing and other increasingly sophisticated manufacturing industries. The attached tables show that while the U.S. is sending Romania raw materials, the U.S. imports manufactured products from Romania. Similar problems exist in Hungary and in the People's Republic of China.

The present volume of trade is only the beginning of the future import problems because U.S. firms in industries such as aircraft, computers, and other sophisticated technology are entering into contracts for production in China, Romania and Hungary, for the sale of the output of part of the production in the West.

The upsurge in barter trade -- exchanging U.S. technology for imports of products from closed, non-market economies is, in fact, a growing problem that increases U.S. economic losses from market disruption. Section 406 of the Trade Act of 1974 has not been made effective in curbing the spread of this practice. New legislation is necessary for adequate safeguards in relation to non-market economies.

Another complication in the trade arrangements with planned, non-market economies is that such economies tend to "rethink" their plans, as the People's Republic of China recently is reported to "reconsider its plans for steel production." Thus the U.S. expectation of sales of technology and agriculture are subject to interruption at the whim of the state-planners.

With the unemployment level in this country about to reach eight percent, there is an urgent need to curtail unwarranted economic concessions abroad which carry the price tag of increased unemployment at home.

The AFL-CIO urges that the Subcommittee reject the continuation of waivers for Romania, Hungary and China, as well as the Administration's request that its waiver authority be extended an additional twelve months. To do otherwise will result in a continued loss of U.S. production, jobs and resources and a further departure from America's commitment to promoting human rights.

Sincerely,

Ray Denison

Ray Denison, Director
DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION

amnesty international news release

304 West 58 Street , New York NY 10019 , Tel: (212) 582-4440 Telex: 666628

EMBARGOED FOR: 12 noon, Monday,
June 30, 1980

CONTACT: Larry Cox
Press Officer
212/582-4440

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SAYS DISSENTERS FACE WIDE RANGE OF PENALTIES IN ROMANIA

Amnesty International said today (Monday, June 30, 1980) that Romanian authorities deplo a wide range of legal and extra-legal penalties against those who breach official limits on political, religious and social expression.

In a 20-page briefing on human rights issues of concern to Amnesty International in Romania, it cited the use of imprisonment, "corrective labor," confinement to psychiatric hospitals, and the inadequacy of legal safeguards. The organization also called attention to cases of harassment, intimidation and dismissal or transfer from jobs

The country's constitution and laws restrict the freedoms of speech, press and assembly, providing penalties for such offences as "anti-state propaganda." The number of people imprisoned on such overtly political charges appears to have fallen in recent years, but some dissenters have faced criminal charges -- which Amnesty International believes to be false — such as "parasitism" and "homosexual relations," according to the briefing paper.

Among those who have been punished are members of an unofficial trade union, unauthorized religious activists, would-be emigrants and critics of government practices affecting human rights.

One of the cases cited is that of Janos Török, a textile worker and Communist Party member who criticized the system by which National Assembly members are elected during a meeting in March 1975 at his place of work in Cluj. He was arrested by the Securitate (political police) and was reported to have been severely beaten during prolonged interrogation. He was confined to a psychiatric hospital and forcibly injected with large doses of sedatives. Released from hospital in March 1978, Török has been under house arrest since then, permitted to leave his home once a month to report to a psychiatric clinic.

He is only one of a number of dissenters who have been subjected to compulsory psychiatric confinement, although Romanian law prescribes this only for those who are dangerous to themselves or others, or who are judged to be about to commit serious crime

Members of an unofficial "Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers," founded in February 1979, have been penalized in various ways: Dr. Ionel Cana was sentenced in June 1979 to five and a half years' imprisonment on charges that have not been made public. Others have been given shorter terms for offences such as disseminating information abroad without official permission and "parasitism." Economist Georghe Brasoveanu was reported to have been confined to a psychiatric hospital in March 1979 -- the fifth time in eight years that he has been confined after criticizing official policies.

In August 1977, miners in the Jiu Valley went on strike in a dispute over pensions, benefits and safety standards. Those who played prominent parts in the strike were arrested and sent without trial to work in other districts under police surveillance. Several sources have said that two strike leaders died shortly after the strike in circumstances never satisfactorily investigated by police, although Romanian authorities have denied these reports.

Georghe Rusu, an economist, applied in 1977 to emigrate to France in order to join his wife and child there. Arrested on charges of homosexual acts, he was acquitted by a local Bucharest court for lack of evidence, but was later sentenced to three years in prison after the procurator appealed against the first verdict.

People who went on hunger-strikes or demonstrated in support of demands to be allowed to emigrate have been imprisoned or confined to psychiatric hospitals; other dissenters, however, have been harassed until they accepted passports and left the country.

Religious dissenters who have been punished include an Orthodox priest, Father Calciu, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on charges that have not been made public, and Protestant activists sentenced on charges of causing public disturbance and "parasitism."

An Amnesty International delegation visited Romania in February 1979, after the organization launched a campaign the previous autumn against human rights violations in that country. Amnesty International has requested the opportunity to send a second mission, to investigate human rights problems and the abuse of psychiatry in particular.

- 30 -

NOTE: Copies of the Romania Briefing Paper are available from Amnesty International U.S
304 West 58 Street, New York, New York 10019.

EXPORTS TO ROMANIA
(millions of dollars)

Description	January-March 1980	January-March 1979
Yellow corn, not donated for relief	$ 41.3	$ 27.3
Cotton, not carded, staple length 1 to 1-1/8 inches	28.4	-
Low volatile bituminous coal	18.3	10.8
Soybean oil cake and meal	18.0	4.4
Wheat, unmilled, not donated for relief	15.9	-
Soybeans, n.e.s	13.4	21.2
Cattle hides, whole	9.6	10.8
Drilling and boring machines, n.e.s	4.0	-
Bituminous coal, n.e.s	3.9	-
Other cotton, staple length 1-1/8 inches or more	2.9	-
Coal coke, commercially suitable for use as a fuel	2.7	-
Wood pulp, special alpha and dissolving grades	2.0	2.4
Phosphates, crude, and apatite	2.0	3.1
Sulfur, native elemental, or recovered	1.9	2.7
Mobile cranes, hydraulic operated, truck mounted	1.6	-
Carbon steel and iron scrap, No. 2 bundles	1.2	-
Carbon steel and iron waste and scrap, No. 1 heavy melting	1.1	-
Machines and appliances for determining the strength of articles under compression, tension, etc., electrical	.9	.3
Tire building machines, including vulcanizing presses	.7	-
Absorbent paper, filter paper, etc., not wet machine board or construction paper, weighing not over 18 pounds per ream	.7	.1
Total	$170.5	$ 83.0
Total U.S. exports to Romania	$183.4	$104.8

SOURCE: Compiled from official statistics of the U. S. Department of Commerce
22D Quarterly Report to the Congress and the Trade Policy Committee
on Trade Between the United States and the NonMarket Economy Countries
During January-March, 1980
June 1980

IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA
(millions of dollars)

Description	January-March	
	1980	1979
Passenger, baggage, etc., railroad cars, not self-propelled	$ 3.3	$ 1.2
Floor coverings of wool, valued over 66 2/3 cents per square foot	3.7	-
Canned hams, shoulders, over 3 pounds	3.2	3.0
Urea, n.e.s	2.8	-
Men's footwear, of leather, n.e.s., cement soles	2.8	1.1
Agricultural tractor, power takeoff, horsepower of 40 to 80	2.3	.9
Welt work footwear, of leather, valued over $6.80. per pair	2.0	2.2
Women's raincoats, n.e.s., 3/4 length or longer, valued over $4 each	1.8	2.4
Polyisoprene rubber	1.8	2.6
Furniture, of wood, n.s.p.f	1.5	.9
Pecorino cheese, not for grating	1.2	.9
Tapered roller bearings, cup and cone assemblies	1.2	.4
Women's footwear, of leather, cement soles, valued over $2.50 per pair	1.1	1.8
Men's and boys' suits, n.e.s., of man-made fibers, not knit	1.1	1.8
Glass tumblers, etc., valued $0.30-$3 each	1.0	.7
Men's sport shirts, n.s.p.f., of cotton, not knit	1.0	.5
Aluminum sheets and strip, not clad, wrought	1.0	1.7
Furniture and parts of bentwood	.8	.7
Tableware etc valued $.10 to $3.00	.8	-
Sheets, of iron or steel, not shaped, not pickled or cold rolled, n.e.s	.8	-
Total	$ 40.6	$ 25.7
Total U.S. imports from Romania	$ 63.5	$ 68.8

SOURCE: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce
22D Quarterly Report to the Congress and the Trade Policy Committee
on Trade Between the United States and the NonMarket Economy Countries
During January-March, 1980
June 1980

Atlantic Chemical
Corporation

P.O. Box 216
Nutley, NJ 07110

Tel. 201 235-1800
TWX 710-989-1468

Cable Address
Antidye-Passaic

Atlantic

Bernard Rabinowitz
President

Jun 6 11 34 AM '80

June 4, 1980

Honorable Russell B. Long
Chairman Senate Finance Committee
U. S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Long:

I am writing to follow up my continuing interest in connection with the extension of the Most Favored Nation tariff status for Romania.

This issue of extending Most Favored Nation status to Romania for another year has been requested by President Carter, and I am writing to urge that this extension be granted for another year.

Both the trade volumes between the United States and Romania, and the level of imports have increased significantly during the past several years, and there is no doubt that the discretionary preferences have been an important factor in this growth.

I believe it follows without further emphasis and comment, that the resulting improved relations with Romania have opened up important dialogues both in the economic as well as political and humanitarian areas between the United States and Romania.

May I urge that you continue your support for the Romania Most Favored Nation trade extension.

Yours very truly,

Bernard Rabinowitz

Bernard Rabinowitz

BR:e

Monsieur Henri Wines, Ltd.

G. LAWRENCE SOLL
VICE PRESIDENT
GOVERNMENT & INDUSTRY RELATIONS

MAY 31 10 15 AM '80

May 27, 1980

Senator Russell B. Long
United States Senate
217 Russell
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Long:

We are writing again in support of a continuation of "Most-Favored-Nation" status to Romania for an increased period of three years.

Our company, Monsieur Henri Wines, Ltd., imports Romanian wines for distribution to consumers in the United States.

Since last requesting continuation of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania, the volume of our imports from Romania has expanded considerably. We have developed strong acceptance for the Premiat line of wines - Pinot Noir, Cabernet Sauvignon and Tarnave Castle. In addition, we had extended the choices for the American public to include a Valea - a dry Riesling. We are providing our citizens with an outstanding imported wine of highest quality for a most reasonable price.

We feel any change in Romania's trade status would have a negative affect on the American wine consuming public. We respectfully submit our support for the continuation and extension of three years Most-Favored-Nation status for the Socialist Republic of Romania under the Trade Act of 1973.

Respectfully,

MONSIEUR HENRI WINES, LTD.

BY:
G. Lawrence Soll
Vice President

GLS/jb

707 WESTCHESTER AVENUE, SUITE L-1, WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK 10604 TELEPHONE 914-697-0100

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jul 7 10 25 AM

June 3o, 198o

The Honorable
Russell B. Long
U.S.Senator
217 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Long:

I would like to bring to your attention the figures illustrating the evolution of trade exchange between Romania and the United States from 1975 to 1979 year and also the figures of approvals for emmigration from Romania to the United States, Israel and Federal Republic of Germany for the first months of 198o as compared with the figures for 1979.

Sincerely yours,
N. Ionescu
Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

TRADE EXCHANGES

- mil. dollars -

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Total from which:	236,3	466,7	562,5	869,9	1o94,4
Export	97,7	189,9	275,3	386,2	473,5
Import	138,6	276,8	287,2	483,7	62o,9

APPROVALS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY

	U.S.A.		ISRAEL		R.F.Germany	
	1979	198o	1979	198o	1979	198o
January	75	126	67	9o	635	1o61
February	72	268	65	84	468	1 5oo
March	43	268	51	96	291	1o98
April	57	211	61	109	379	1238
May	155	287	1o4	161	612	637
June	172		1o7		598	
Total Sem.I	574		455		2985	

WEGO GENERAL TRADING, INC.

71 BROADWAY
NEW YORK N Y 10006
TEL [illegible]
[illegible]

June 25, 1980
[illegible]

Senator Russell B. Long
Chairman
Senate Finance Committee
Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Sir:

We are writing to recommend the extension of the most favored nation status, to be given to the Social Republic of Romania.

We have had extensive business relations with a variety of Romanian concerns both directly and through the staff of the Commercial Office in New York. We have encountered a very professional group of representatives from a variety of manufacturing concerns in Romania dedicated to further enhancing the relations between the United States and Romania.

We foresee excellent business opportunities with Romania and further request to grant the extension for their most favored nation status.

Thanking you for your consideration in this matter, we remain,

Very truly yours,

WEGO GENERAL TRADING, INC.

Edward [illegible]

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THE TRUTH ABOUT ROMANIA COMMITTEE
325 East 57 Street, Suite 14D
New York, N. Y. 10022

STATEMENT

by

Brutus Coste

Professor Emeritus of International Relations

In the name of the Truty About Romania Committee

For the Record of the Hearing Held on Monday, July 21, 1980

Before the Subcommittee on International Trade
of the Committee on Rinance of the U.S. Senate

By his message to the U.S. Congress, the President of the United States has for the fifth time recommended that his authority to wave, in the case of the Socialist Republic Romania (SSR), subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Foreign Trade Act of 1974 be extended for another period of 12 months . These legal provisions set freedom of emigration and, in our view, observance of human rights,as preconditions for granting the Most Favored (MFN) to non-market economy countries, such as the SSR .

It has by now been widely recognized that the commitment to observe freedom of emigration never amounted to more than tokenism . In connection with freedom of emigration there has been lately, in Romania, a rather disturbing development : an increasing number of individuals with criminal records are being issued exist visae - as if to create trouble in the receiving countries .

As to the observance of human right, as embodied in the Universal Declaration, in the International Covenant on

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on Civil and Political Rights, in the International Covenant on Econ.,Social and Cultural Rights and, more recently, in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference -- one can only describe the present situation in terms of quasi-complete denial .

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The latest report by Amnesty International gives so accurate a description of the denial of human rights in Romania, that another report on the same subject may sound redundant . For this reason and because we are reliably informed that the life of a great Romanian clergyman is in grave and immediate danger, we shall concentrate our efforts (a) to the urgent task of defending father Gheorghe Calciu and (b) to the preparation of the Romanian case for the Madrid Conference .

With these purposes in mind, the Truth About Romania Committee feels enjoyned to place on the record of the hearings held on July 21, 1980, by the U.S. Senate's Finance Subcommittee on International Trade -- the following documents :

1. Three copies of an article entitled "Outcry of a Romanian Priest in Mortal Danger", by Eugene Ionescu, the world renowned play-write and member of the French Academy (of Romanian descent). An English translation is appended to the French original - which was published by the prestigious LE MONDE .
2. Three copies each of the appeals our committee addressed on August 12, respectively 13, to the Secretary of State and to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland with regard to the inhuman treatment inflicted day-in-day-out on Reverend Gheorghe Calciu with the evident intention of killing him .
3. Report of the Paris-based League for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania concerning the disappearance of dissident worker Vasile Paraschiv (three copies).
4. Copy of the Amnesty International Briefing on Romania, first published in June 1980 ./.

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In bringing the aforelisted material to the attention of the Subcommittee, my committee wishes me to reiterate their strong conviction that extending once more the MFN treatment to the SSR is not to the best interest of the United States and of the Romanian people .

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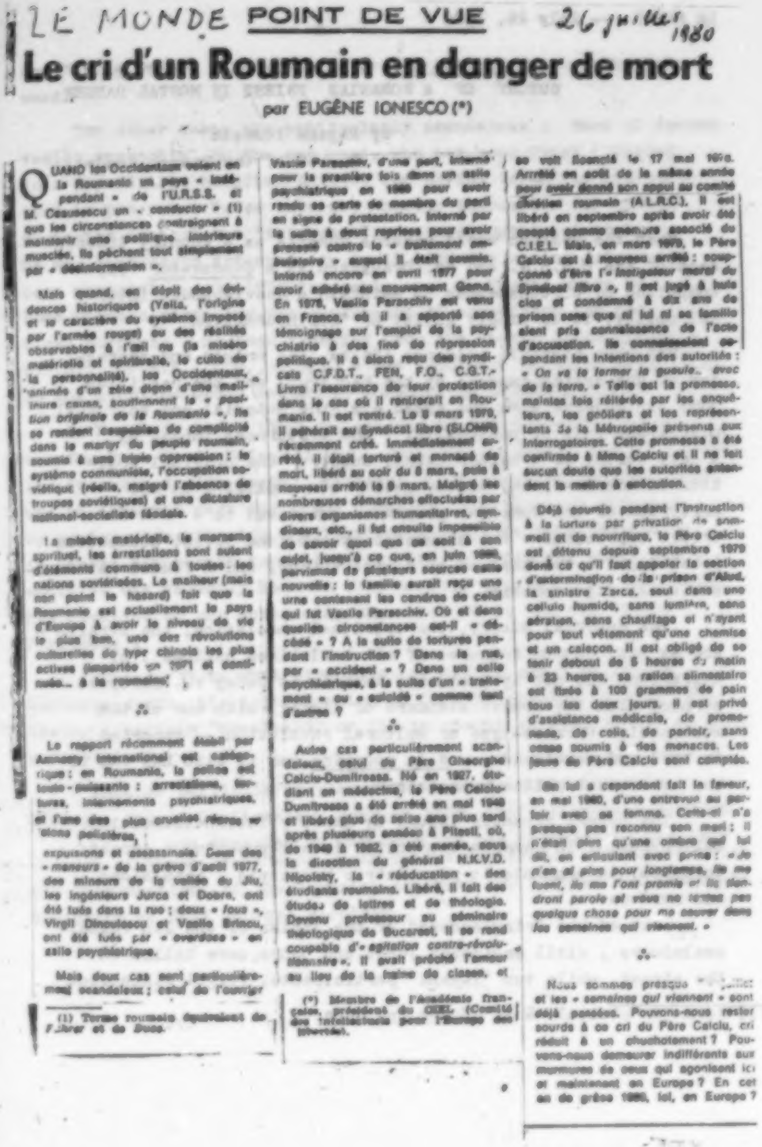
The Truth About Romania Committee is a nonprofit, non-incorporated association of Americans and U.S. residents of Romanian descent . It was formed in 1973 and is dedicated to the task of disseminating the truth about conditions in Romania and voicing, in the Free World,the freedom aspirations of the Romanian people. Professor Emeritus Brutus Coste, the spokesman of the Committee is a former Romanian diplomat who served eleven years as Secretary General of the Assembly of Captive European nations . Subsequentky he taught for ten years Internationa Relations at Fairleigh Dickinson University, in Teaneck, N.J. .

New York, August 1980



LE MONDE **POINT DE VUE** 26 juillet 1980

Le cri d'un Roumain en danger de mort

par EUGÈNE IONESCO (*)

QUAND les Occidentaux voient en la Roumanie un pays « indépendant » de l'U.R.S.S. et M. Ceausescu un « conductor » (1) que les circonstances contraignent à maintenir une politique intérieure musclée, ils pèchent tout simplement par « désinformation ».

Mais quand, en dépit des évidences historiques (Yalta, l'origine et le caractère du système imposé par l'armée rouge) ou des réalités observables à l'œil nu (la misère matérielle et spirituelle, le culte de la personnalité), les Occidentaux, animés d'un zèle digne d'une meilleure cause, soutiennent la « *position originale de la Roumanie* », ils se rendent coupables de complicité dans le martyr du peuple roumain, soumis à une triple oppression : le système communiste, l'occupation soviétique (réelle, malgré l'absence de troupes soviétiques) et une dictature national-socialiste féodale.

La misère matérielle, le marasme spirituel, les arrestations sont autant d'éléments communs à toutes les nations soviétisées. Le malheur (mais non point le hasard) fait que la Roumanie est actuellement le pays d'Europe à avoir le niveau de vie le plus bas, une des révolutions culturelles de type chinois les plus actives (importée en 1971 et continuée... à la roumaine).

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Le rapport récemment établi par Amnesty International est catégorique : en Roumanie, la police est toute-puissante : arrestations, tortures, internements psychiatriques, et l'une des plus cruelles répressions policières, expulsions et assassinats. Deux des « *meneurs* » de la grève d'août 1977, des mineurs de la vallée du Jiu, les ingénieurs Jurca et Dobre, ont été tués dans la rue ; deux « *fous* », Virgil Dincuiescu et Vasile Brincu, ont été tués par « *overdose* » en asile psychiatrique.

Mais deux cas sont particulièrement scandaleux ; celui de l'ouvrier Vasile Paraschiv, d'une part, interné pour la première fois dans un asile psychiatrique en 1969 pour avoir rendu sa carte de membre du parti en signe de protestation. Interné par la suite à deux reprises pour avoir protesté contre le « *traitement ambulatoire* » auquel il était soumis. Interné encore en avril 1977 pour avoir adhéré au mouvement Goma. En 1978, Vasile Paraschiv est venu en France, où il a apporté son témoignage sur l'emploi de la psychiatrie à des fins de répression politique. Il a alors reçu des syndicats C.F.D.T., FEN, F.O., C.G.T.-Livre l'assurance de leur protection dans le cas où il rentrerait en Roumanie. Il est rentré. Le 8 mars 1979, il adhérait au Syndicat libre (SLOMR) récemment créé. Immédiatement arrêté, il était torturé et menacé de mort, libéré au soir du 8 mars, puis à nouveau arrêté le 9 mars. Malgré les nombreuses démarches effectuées par divers organismes humanitaires, syndicaux, etc., il fut ensuite impossible de savoir quoi que ce soit à son sujet, jusqu'à ce que, en juin 1980, parvienne de plusieurs sources cette nouvelle : la famille aurait reçu une urne contenant les cendres de celui qui fut Vasile Paraschiv. Où et dans quelles circonstances est-il « décédé » ? A la suite de tortures pendant l'instruction ? Dans la rue, par « accident » ? Dans un asile psychiatrique, à la suite d'un « traitement » ou « suicidé » comme tant d'autres ?

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Autre cas particulièrement scandaleux, celui du Père Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa. Né en 1927, étudiant en médecine, le Père Calciu-Dumitreasa a été arrêté en mai 1948 et libéré plus de seize ans plus tard après plusieurs années à Pitesti, où, de 1949 à 1952, a été menée, sous la direction du général N.K.V.D. Nicolsky, la « rééducation » des étudiants roumains. Libéré, il fait des études de lettres et de théologie. Devenu professeur au séminaire théologique de Bucarest, il se rend coupable d'« *agitation contre-révolutionnaire* ». Il avait prêché l'amour au lieu de la haine de classe, et se voit licencié le 17 mai 1978. Arrêté en août de la même année pour avoir donné son appui au comité chrétien roumain (A.L.R.C.), il est libéré en septembre après avoir été coopté comme membre associé du C.I.E.L. Mais, en mars 1979, le Père Calciu est à nouveau arrêté : soupçonné d'être l'« *instigateur moral du Syndicat libre* », il est jugé à huis clos et condamné à dix ans de prison sans que ni lui ni sa famille aient pris connaissance de l'acte d'accusation. Ils connaissaient cependant les intentions des autorités : « *On va te fermer la gueule... avec de la terre.* » Telle est la promesse, maintes fois réitérée par les enquêteurs, les geôliers et les représentants de la Métropolie présents aux interrogatoires. Cette promesse a été confirmée à Mme Calciu et il ne fait aucun doute que les autorités entendent la mettre à exécution.

Déjà soumis pendant l'instruction à la torture par privation de sommeil et de nourriture, le Père Calciu est détenu depuis septembre 1979 dans ce qu'il faut appeler la section d'extermination de la prison d'Aiud, la sinistre Zarca, seul dans une cellule humide, sans lumière, sans aération, sans chauffage et n'ayant pour tout vêtement qu'une chemise et un caleçon. Il est obligé de se tenir debout de 5 heures du matin à 23 heures, sa ration alimentaire est fixée à 100 grammes de pain tous les deux jours. Il est privé d'assistance médicale, de promenade, de colis, de parloir, sans cesse soumis à des menaces. Les jours du Père Calciu sont comptés.

On lui a cependant fait la faveur, en mai 1980, d'une entrevue au parloir avec sa femme. Celle-ci n'a presque pas reconnu son mari : il n'était plus qu'une ombre qui lui dit, en articulant avec peine : « *Je n'en ai plus pour longtemps, ils me tuent, ils me l'ont promis et ils tiendront parole si vous ne tentez pas quelque chose pour me sauver dans les semaines qui viennent.* »

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Nous sommes presque en juillet et les « *semaines qui viennent* » sont déjà passées. Pouvons-nous rester sourds à ce cri du Père Calciu, cri réduit à un chuchotement ? Pouvons-nous demeurer indifférents aux murmures de ceux qui agonisent ici et maintenant en Europe ? En cet an de grâce 1980, ici, en Europe ?

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(1) Terme roumain équivalent de *Führer* et de *Duce*.

(*) Membre de l'Académie française, président du CIEL (Comité des intellectuels pour l'Europe des libertés).

LE MONDE --- July 26, 1980

OUTCRY OF A ROMANIAN PRIEST IN MORTAL DANGER

by Eugene Ionescu
Member of the French Academy

When the Western world regards Romania as a country independent of the U.S.S.R. and Mr. Ceausescu as a conducator (1) compelled by circumstances to maintain a heavy-handed internal policy, it is simply guilty of "disinformation " .

But when historic evidence (Yalta, the origin and character of the system imposed by the Red Army) and the realities one can observe with the naked eye (the material and spiritual misery, the cult of personality) the Westerners imbued by a zeal worthy of a better cause, support "the original position of Romania", they become guilty of complicity in the martyrdom of the Romanian people -- subjected to a triple oppression : the communist system, the Soviet occupation (real despite the absence of Soviet troops, and a feudal national-socialist digtatorship .

The material misery, the spiritual emaciation, the arrests - are as many common features of all Sovietized nations . by misfortune but not by accident, Romania is today the European country with the lowest standard of living, with one of the most active Chinese-type of cultural revolution -- imported in 1971 and continued ... À la roumaine. And it also has one of the most cruel police repressions .

The report recently issued by Amnesty International is categorical : in Romania the police is all-powerful : arrests, tortures, interments in psychiatric hospitals , expulsions, and murders.

Two of the "ringleaders" of the strike of the Jiu Valley coalminers , civil engineers Jurca and Dobre, were killed in the street, while two "insane" participants, Virgil Dinculescu and Vasile Brincu were murdered by over-doses in a psychiatric ward.

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(1) Romanian equivalent of Führer and Duce.

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Two other cases are particularly scandalous : that of worker Vasile Paraschiv, on the one hand, who had been first interned in a psychiatric hospital in 1969 for having turned in his party card in protest . Twice interned shortly thereafter for having protested against the "itinerant" treatment meted out to him , he was once again interned, in April 1977 for having joined the Goma movement . . In 1978 Paraschiv came to France where he bore witness regarding the employment of psychiatry for political purposes . He then received from the French labor unions - C.F.D.T., F.E.N., F.O., C.G.T. - the assurance of their protection in the event he would return to Romania. He actually did so .

On March 8, 1979, 1979, he adhered to the recently created Romanian Free Trade Union (SLOMR). Promptly arrested, ha was tortured and threatened with death . Released on the evening of March 8, he was re-arresred next day . The numerous interventions effected by various humanitarian and labor organizations notwithstanding, it became henceforth impossible to find out anything about him , until it was reliably learned from several sources, that the family had received an urn containing the ashes of he who was Vasile Paraschiv .

Where and in what circumstances did he die ? Following tortures during his investigation ? In a psychiatric asylum following a certain "treatment", or did he commit suicide as did so many before him ?

Another particularly scandalous case is that of Father Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa . Born in 1927, while a medical student, was arrested in May 1948 and was released in May 1962 . Several of these years were spent in the notorious Pitești (Prison) in which the "reeducation" of the Romanian students was carried out under the direction of NKDV General Nicolsky .

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After his release, in 1962, he studied literature, languages and theology and was inducted a priest and a professor to the Bucharest Theological Seminary . At this latter place he was found guilty of "counter-revolutionary agitation". He had preached love instead of class hatred and was dismissed on May 17, 1978. Arrested in August of the same year for having given support to the Romanian Christian Committee (C.A.L.R.C.), he was relea in september after he had been coopted by a French organization -- Committee of Intellectuals for a Europe of Libert (C.I.E.L.). In March 1979 Father Calciu was again arrested under the suspicion of being the "moral instigator" of the recently surfaced Romanian Trade Union . He was tried in camera and sentenced to 10 years in prison . He and his family were never informed about the charges and the indictment . They knew, however, the intention of the authorities :

Your big mouth shall be shut tight with earth .

This is the promise many times reiterated by investigators, prison guards and representatives of the Mitropolie (the Patriarchat of the Romanian Orthodox Church) present at the interrogation . The promise was reiterated to Mrs. Calciu and there is no doubt that the authorities intend to carry it out .

After being tortured be being deprived of sleep and food, Father Calciu is detained since September 1979 in what can only be called the extermination section of the Aiud prison - the sinister Zarca : alone in a humid, lightless, airless and cell , with no other cloth but one shirt and one short underwear . He is compelled to to stand up from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. ; his food ration is set at 100 grams(1/4 lb) of bread every second day . He received no medical care whatsoever and he is barred from any exercise in the prison yard.

The days of Father Calciu are numbered . The regime had only made one favor to Father Calciu. He was permitted to receive a brief visit by his wife in the reception room of the prison. Mrs. Calciu hardly recognized her husband; he was but a shadow of his former self . Articulating his words with dificulty he said :

" I do not have much left They are killing me . They promised it, and they keep their word. if you do not try something to save me during the weeks to come .

We are at the end of July and the "weeks to come" have already lapsed .

Can we keep deaf toward this appeal of Father Calciu - an apPeal that is now down to a whisper ?
Can we remain indifferent at the murmurs of those of those who agonize here and now in Europe ?
In this year of grace 1980. Here, in Europe ?

THE TRUTH ABOUT ROMANIA COMMITTEE
325 East 57 Street, Suite 14D
New York, N.Y. 10022

August 12, 1980

(Western Union Mailgram)

The Honorable
Edmund S. Muskie
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

It is within your power to save the life of one of the finest human beings, saintly Romanian Orthodox priest Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa. While a medical student in May 1948, he was arrested and kept imprisoned until 1964 . After his release, he studied literature and theology and was inducted a priest and appointed a professor at the Bucharest Theological Seminary . He soon was the favorite preacher of Romanian youths . Preaching love instead of class hatred, his impact was steadily growing. So in May 1978 he was dismissed from his position. A year later he was arrested under the suspicion of being the moral instigator of the recently formed Free Romanian Labor Union . Tried in camera., he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. For more than a year now the Father has been jailed in the extermination section of the Aiud prison, the sinister Zarca : a humid, dark,heatless, airless dungeon. There he must stand upright from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m.. His food ration consists of 1/4 of an lb of bread every second day. Exercise is barred and so are [illegible] visits and food parcels. Last May, the only time he was permitted to see his wife, he told her :

> " They are killing me. They promised it and they keep their word - if you do not try something to save me during my few remaining weeks ."

Mr. Secretary : help Father Calciu before it is too late!

Respectfully,

Emeritus Professor Brutus Coste

THE TRUTH ABOUT ROMANIA COMMITTEE
325 East 57 Street, Suite 14D
New York, N.Y. 10022

August 13, 1980

(Western Union Mailgram)

Mr. Lane Kirkland, President
American Federation of Labor - CIO
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Kirkland :

At the urgings of our committee, you wrote, on December 10,1979, to the then Secretary of State, calling his attention to the intense persecution the founding members of the Free labor Union of Romania have been and are enduring . You particularly stressed the case of Romanian Orthodox priest Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa ."We are aware- you noted - that his arrest, torture and ten years prison sentence of March 1979 is directly related to his association with SLOMR (The Free Labor Union of Romania)

In response to your forceful letter, the Secretary of State declared that the U.S. Government not only deplores this situation but has "made clear to the Romanian side our view that freedom of association and the right to organize are essential elements within the fabric of human right". The Secretary of State also advised you that earlier this year (1979) during consultations with the Romanian government concerning the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act , the U.S. reiterated emphatically her commitment to the respect of human rights and, specifically, voiced concern over the fate of those who founded and supported SLOMR, including Father Calciu .

We are now in posession of extremely disturbing news regarding regarding father Calciu . His wife was exceptionally permitted to visit him for a few minutes in his place of detention, the extermination section of the Aiud prison, the so-called Zarca . Mrs. Calciu learned that her husband was held in solitary confinement in a dark, humid, heatless, airless underground dungeon. There he must stand upright from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m.. His food ration is down to 1/4 of an lb every second day . Exercise in the prison yard is off limit for him . And the father is not permitted to receive visitors or food parcels . His parting words to his wife were :

> "They are killing me. They promised it repeatedly and and they intend to keep their word unless you try something to save me during the few remaining weeks".
>
> "Time, isrunning out on Father Calciu . Can we remain deaf to his outcry for help ? Can free man stand passively while this great man and courageous believer is slowly strangled slowly to death by the recipents of American largesse ?
> We hope and trust that American Labor will act and also induce others to launche a huge wave of protest .

Respectfully,

Prof. Emeritus Brutus Coste

WHAT HAPPENED TO VASILE PARASCHIV ?

- A Romanian worker, former member of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), three times interned in psychiatric hospitals, disappeared since March 1979 upon joining the Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers (SLOMR).

Born in 1928, the son of a poor peasant family, he left his his village at age 12 and worked as an apprentice salesman in a grocery store .

1946 - Joins and militates for the RCP ; works as a mailman.

1949 - Military Service. Because of his Party activities he is assigned to the School for communications officers .

1950 - is expelled from the preparatory courses of the Military Academy for possessing a copy of a book by Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice from 1944 to 1948, expelled from the Party and executed in 1954, today rehabilitated. By decision of the Party ~~he~~ Paraschiv was ousted in 1952 from the cadres of the active army .

1952-58 - employée of the Post Department ; married, and has two children and pursues his studies ; in 1958 he graduates from the Technical School of Telecommunications.

1963 - is employed by the Petro-Chemical combine of Brazi ; is there evicted from his apartment to the benefit of a police officer . He and his family literally dwell in the street for nine months before regaining posession of their lodgings .

1963-68 - continues militating within the RCP against abuses he deems to be deviations due to the irresponsibility of the party cadres .

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1968 - addresses an open letter to Ceausescu denouncing the misdeeds of the party apparatus and is prevented from reading this document at a party meeting at his place of work ; he decides to desist paying his party dues and to stay away from party meetings ; two months later he is expelled from the RCP .

1969 - arrested on July 31, at his place of work, he is interrogated, at the militia headquarters in the city of Ploesti, about his political opinions - in the presence of a civilian who turns out to be a psychiatrist from the hospital of Urlati. There he joins thirty workers who had been apprehended on the same day for equivalent reasons . He begins forthwith a hunger and thurst strike and is released five days later .

1972 - as of March 1, he is employed as an electronician at the I.A.M.C. plant in Otopeni - a few miles north of Bucharest.

1976 - in March, Paraschiv rejects the working conditions in the plant in which he works and is retrograded for a period of three months ; he is penalized by withholding part of his salary because of his refusal to help in "gathering the autumn harvest ; in November he is arrested by the militia ; his lodgings are searched ; letters addressed to Radio Free Europe and a book on " The History of Socialism in Romania", by Titel Petrescu are confiscated ; he is interrogated for 12 hours and then released . On December 1 he is again arrested - this time by an officer of the Securitate . Taken to the psychiatric hospital of Voila Campina, district of Prahova - Paraschiv is interned in a room reserved for dagerous patients . He declares a hunger and thurst strike which he gives up after being threatened with transfer , by the militia,"to a hospital where he could die without anyone taking any notice" . The hospital diagnosis is "delirious, revendicative and systematized paranoia neurosis" as well as "disfunction of the instinct of preservation (as indicated by hunger and thrust strike). He is released on December 23.

1977 - February 20, he signs an open letter launched by Paul Goma in support of the signers of the Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia .

- February 22, following the decision of the military court of Ploesti, Polyclinic No. 2 of Ploeşti, issues an order for interning Paraschiv in the home for chronic mental illnesses at Calinesti .

- February 23, he is arrested in front of the apartment house inhabited by Paul Goma, by three security officers and is taken to the Ministry of Interior where he is beaten up . He is then taken to the headquarters of the Security and is there again brutalized. Following a discussion with the head of the Securitate he is released the same evening . He is being promised an "interesting job" and a reconsideration of the diagnosis , if he gives up seeing Goma .

- March 14, the order of internment is changed to one of "outpatient treatment" . But Paraschiv refuses to comply with this decision and confirms this in writing .

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- On April 7 he is arrested in the apartment of Goma ; ~~He~~ is escorted to the militia headquarters where he refuses to retract in writing his adhesion to the Goma movement . Goma himself is beaten up to the point of losing consciousness .

- April 8, the Securitate is taking him to the psychiatric hospital in Sapoca, district of Buzau, where he is interned in section 2 9- reserved for troublesome patients . Shortly thereafter he is transferred to the section of the neurotics and there for the first time he received shots of neuroleptic. He is released on May 20 .

- June 11 - a ~~[illegible]~~ court sentences Paraschiv to a compulsory outpatient psychiatric treatment . The prosecutor had been demanding permanent interment .

- August 5 he is violently ousted from a workers' meeting in the enterprise in which he works. He then decides to leave the country provisionally and applies for a three months tourist visa for himself and his younger son . He gets the visa without difficulty. Arriving in Austria on November 9, he obtains a visa for France in ~~February 1978 nex~~t February (1978). His son decides to emigrate to the U.S.

1978- February 6, Paraschiv holds a press conference in Paris in which he gives a witness account of his experiences with psychiatric "treatment" as means of political repression .

April 18 - with Soviet subject Fainberg, a Czech - Lestinsky and a Pole, Smolar, Paraschiv holds a press conference in support of the free labor union of Klebanov in the Soviet Union .He also reports on the condition of labor in Romania with emphasis on

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on the fate that befel to the striking coal miners of the Jiu Valley in August 1977. This press conference had the support of four French Labor Union organizations : C.F.D.T., C.G.T., F.E.N. and F.O.

19-27 April Trying to return to Romania, Paraschiv is rejected on the Romanian border and forcibly placed on a Vienna-bound train .But following an international campaign of protests,conducted largely by the above-mentioned French Labor Unions and by the Austrian Ö.G.B. union, he is permitted to enter Romania on July 9 and is given a job more appropriate to his qualifications. He remains, however, under permanent surveillance .

1979 - On March 8 , while standing in front of the apartment inhabited by Gheorghe Brasoveanu, one of the spokesmen of the Free Union of Romanian Workingmen, which had just been set up and which he wanted to join, he was arrested by the Securitate . Taken to headquarters, he was first violently beaten and then charged of being a member of FATAH (French) terroristic organization . He was furthermore warned that he might get killed in a well-staged accident should he persist making trouble . The foregoing was brought to our attention on March 9 by Paraschiv himself when we succeeded very briefly in contacting him by telephone.

Ever since, all attempts by orgnizations like Amnesty International, AFL- CIO and the French labor unions to contact Paraschiv ended in failure. Not even his son (now a U.S. resident) succeeded in making contact with him or any other member of his family .

FRENCH COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN
IN ROMANIA

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA
COMITETUL PENTRU APARAREA TRASILVANIEI ROMANESTI
Box 6272 Detroit, Michigan 48234

June 6,1980.

S T A T E M E N T.

Mr.Charman and distinguished members of the Committee,

Appreciating this granted opportunity to testify before the Committee on Ways and Means,we,the members of the Committee for the Defense of the Romanian Transylvania,Incorporated with the Departament of Commerce,Lansing,Michigan,where you'll find the largest Romanian Community.

In motivating our support,we belive that:

- we definitely dislike the communist regime of Romania,and for this reason,wi emigrated to the United States of America.

- The wise determination of the President of the USA to recommend the continuation of the MFN Statuts in trade to Romania,corresponds to the ardent desire for the economical prosperity of Romania confessed by the Americans of Romanian descent who belong to the old middle of the road immigration group into the USA.

A new extension of the MFN Statuts to Romania,is not just a simple matter of bureucratic routine but the best American way to strengthen Romania's **independent policies,helping** our Mother Country to continue it's friendly relations with countries of differing political&economic systems,among which,that with the United States of America should be considered the most welcomed and real victory of American trade and diplomacy.

- We are concerned thet the approval by the Congress of the USA of Mr.JIMMY CARTER's recommendation for the extension of Waiver Authority, made on Ma28,1980,will give the necessary impulse to the economical relations development between the two Countries which,reciprocally,will share comercial&political benefits,encouraging Romania to maintain & strenghtem it's independence resisting the Moscow hard political presure.

In conclusion,we strongly express our hopes that the Distinguished Ways and Means Committee will give our"STATEMENT OF SUPPORT" it's due consideration,and approve our reqest for the benefit of our dearest countries:THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA andROMANIA .

Thank you Mr.Chairman and thank you distinguished members of the Ways and Means Committee.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA .

President and Spiritual Advisor,

V Rev FR.

Vice President,

Anna Denes

Members of the Committee:

George Sohovolo
Cecilia Janeu
Draganescu Ioan SR.
Elena Pappa

Aurelia Peleo
Katii Ruscsak
Ioana Pappa
Maria Bran

STATEMENT

OF

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

IN NORTH AMERICA

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OF

THE U. S. SENATE

CONCERNING

A PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE THE WAIVERS APPLICABLE
TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND TO EXTEND THE WAIVER AUTHORITY UNDER THE
TRADE ACT OF 1974

DELIVERED

BY

ISTVAN B. GEREBEN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Members of the Committee,

My name is Istvan B. Gereben. I am the Executive Secretary of the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America, the consultative body of all major Hungarian Organizations in the United States and Canada. It is in this capacity that I am making this testimony.

We are grateful for the opportunity to present our views on the subject considered by the Subcommittee today.

With respect to Rumania, we presented our views in testimonies submitted to this Subcommittee in the past two years. We opposed the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Rumania. Our testimonies were based on undisputable documentation of the violations committed by the Rumanian Government against the basic human and nationality rights of Hungarians living in Rumania. The situation did not improve.

Two weeks ago Stefan Andrei, the Foreign Mininster of Rumania met with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The two foreign ministers discussed the situation of the German minority of Rumania.

The official English language weekly bulletin of the West German Government, "The Week in Germany", in its May 30th issue reported the following about this meeting:

> "Genscher expressed hope that Rumania will continue to permit emigration to the Federal Republic, but he also maintained that many of these people would choose to stay in Rumania if they could practice their professions and preserve their cultural heritage."

The West-German Government approached the issues of minorities in Rumania with extreme caution and in the past refrained from public criticism of the discrimination with which the Rumanian Governmont treats the Germans and Hungarians of Rumania. The public acknowledgment of discriminatory treatment of the minorities in Rumania indicates that the "policy of silence" practiced before did not produce the hoped-for results. On the contrary, the situation of the minorities in Rumania deteriorated to a point which cannot be tolerated any further. Foreign Minister Genscher seemingly contradicts the official U. S. Government position as expressed in the State Department's Human Rights Report for 1979 which referring to the "alleged" discriminatory treatment of Hungarians in Rumania, states that "no conclusive evidence" of such treatment could be found by the Department. I suggest that the United States consult with the Federal Republic of Germany in order to obtain the evidence which convinced Foreign Minister Genscher to break the silence of his government on this issue.

Detailed update of the situation of the Hungarian minority in Rumania are being submitted by the Committee of Transylvania, Inc. and the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania. We support those statements and their conclusions.

Since there are no improvements in the treatment of Hungarians in Rumania, we oppose the approval of the extension of authority under the Trade Act of 1974 to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402, and for continuation of the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

With respect to Hungary, we would like to call the attention of the Subcommittee to the shooting of three young Hungarians at the Austrian border two weeks ago. The three young Hungarians tried to escape to the West. One is in a hospital in Eisenstadt, two were captured by the border guards watching over the Iron Curtain.

In the wake of this event, the questions rise: If the Hungarian Government is implementing its strict emigration laws so liberally as it is claimed by the State Department, then why is it necessary for three youngsters to choose such an elaborate, illegal and life endangering method to reach the West? Furthermore, if the Hungarian regime is so enlightened, as it is claimed, why was it necessary to react with a lethal hail of bullets to an act - illegal border crossing - which is punished with revocation of passport or deportation by more civilized governments?

It is suggested that the Subcommittee in order to find answers to these questions, interview the young injured Hungarian in Austria and the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Washington.

The United States should refine its approach to the linkage of trade and human rights in respect to Hungary.

Hungary, now more than ever, depends on Western machinery, technology and management techniques. Perhaps we are at a point where our flexing of economic muscle - tempered by astute diplomacy - could yield some political dividend in Hungary.

We should make it clear to the regime in Hungary that the extensions of waiver are not automatic. We also should notify the Government in Hungary that the trade agreement under which MFN treatment is extended to Hungary and expiring a year from now will not be renewed if events such as the brutal shooting of three young Hungarians will recur, and the strict laws governing emigration will not be modified.

Granting MFN status to Hungary has not resulted in the substantial promotion of the objectives of Section 402 of the Trade Act as the President determined in his message to the Congress on June 1st, 1979.

The generally poor performance of the regime in Hungary concerning other aspects of basic human rights were reported by our Committee in previous testimonies before this Subcommittee. No changes were observed in the past year. We recommend that Congress, as a condition for approval of extension of authority under the Trade Act of 1974 to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402 and for continuation of the waiver applicable to the Hungarian People's Republic, persist in its demand for the unequivocal implementation of the letter and the spirit of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

I request that the report by REUTER about the escape attempt by three young Hungarians and the article titled: "The Hungarian Miracle" by Miklos Haraszti giving an authoritative analysis of the status of human rights in Hungary be made part of my testimony and be included in the record.

REPORT BY REUTER ABOUT THE ESCAPE ATTEMPT BY THREE YOUNG HUNGARIANS

"EISENSTADT, Austria, May 30, REUTER.- Three Hungarian Youths seeking asylum in the West crashed a truckthrough a nearby border checkpoint under a hail of gunfire today, but two were immediately captured by Hungarian border guards.

Austrian and Hungarian officials met later in a mixed commission to determine whether the border guards had breeched international procedures by crossing onto Austrian territory.

Officials said the truck straddled the border when it was finally halted by the barrage. Its cab, which was torn away in the crash, came to rest on the Austrian side.

Gabor Baksa, 20, a deaf-mute transport worker, was pried from the wrecked cab by Austrian police and was the only one of the three to reach Austria. He was hospitalized with head and other injuries.

He told Austrian police that he, Peter Ozsvath,20, and Mihaly Rudi,19, were Anti-Communists with no hope of receiving official permission to emigrate.

Mr. Baksa said he and his companions stole the Turkish-registered truck from a Budapest garage during the night. They crashed through road barriers at the border in Klingenbach, six miles from the Hungarian town of Sopron, shortly after dawn.

REUTER 1611 JP "

WRITER CLAIMS HUMAN RIGHTS HONORED ONLY SUPERFICIALLY

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Jul-Aug 79 pp 1-2

[Article by Miklos Haraszti: "The 'Hungarian Miracle'"]

> [Text] Introduction: Miklos Haraszti, who appears for the first time with his writing in the IRODALMI UJSAG, does not have to be introduced at length to our readers. In our January-February, 1974 issue we have reviewed extensively the minutes of those legal proceedings in Budapest in the course of which the 29-year-old author and sociologist was convicted and was given 8 months suspended sentence for "serious incitement." At the center of the indictment stood the manuscript of his book entitled "Darabber" [Piece Wage], in which he summarized his experiences in the Red Star Tractor Factory. Since then, the book has appeared in the West in several languages.
>
> At the present time, Miklos Haraszti is on a study tour in the West and in January of this year he participated in Florence in an international conference whose topic was: "Democracy and Thinking Differently in Eastern Europe." The following article is the text of his lecture at that conference.

When following Western press reports about Hungary, it is almost as if we were faced with Spain of the 1960's which was only waiting for Juan Carlos. The picture that these reports present about Hungary could also have served as Spain's coat-of-arms in those years.

The setting in this instance is also a monolithic corporate state, which denies civil liberties to its citizens. We can only vaguely make out in the background the outlines of a democratic revolution that had been put

best copy available

down with the help of outside intervention. In the foreground stand consolidation and stabilization on every front. There is a relatively balanced economic development, active engagement in the world market, as well as a pragmatic technocracy in possession of power. The irreconcilable elements are either in immigration or in isolation. Prisons nowadays seldom get new inmates. The working classes are working, and they live better than ever before. The whole picture of the coat-of-arms is lighted up by the sun of tourism and international recognition.

Very few of the observers can withstand the temptation to also view the sequence on the basis of the Spanish model. An Orwellian government was never more popular with the free press than the current Hungarian Government. One could put a whole dictionary together from those cliches and commonplace expressions whereby the international press tries to convey to its readers the impression that, contrary to the neighboring countries, in Hungary it is not impossible for a progressive democratic transformation to take place.

But if the hero of Semprun's book "The War Has Ended," were to live in Hungary, he would have even more reason than his Spanish counterpart to reject this optimistic view. In contrast to foreign observers, he would clearly see that there is no chance in Hungary for the rise of a Juan Carlos. He would recognize that the praises directed at the pragmatic and flexible dictatorship are simply congratulations for a well-performed trade. He would know that the Spanish parallel is applicable only up to the halfway point.

The climate of Hungarian society is being influenced by the frigid winds of Siberia, and not by the warmth of the Mediterranean. This society has only a tired memory of the revolution. It does have a tired intelligentsia, but it lacks an upcoming intelligentsia. It does have dissatisfied youth, but it lacks an enthusiastic youth. It does have citizens with a split personality, but it lacks independent-minded citizens. Its working classes--all intellectual theoreticians not withstanding--would not be willing to oppose the centers of power, unless they were to be pushed into the corner and were hungry. They are not sworn to any kind of historical necessity. As long as they have something to feed their children, they accommodate themselves to their subjugated conditions.

It should be evident even from this that Semprun's Hungarian heroes have to face a different kind of power than the original hero. I have in mind not only the fact that this power--faithful to the Soviet type of socialism--is exercising a much greater degree of control over society than do the rival dictatorships. Hungarian state socialism differs, even from that of its neighbors only in that it has recognized and uses its power in accordance with its true nature.

In 1956 this power had a chance to come face to face with that explosive force which can only be elicited by merciless oppression. Today it already views with a certain disdain its neighbors who are still able to perceive power only in administrative terms and who trust nothing but prisons. Initially, Hungarian politicians were forced to recognize, then they understood and still later they came to like the unique force of impotence of the system of state socialism. The concentration of political, military, economic and cultural powers into a simple center is in itself a force of such magnitude, and such compelling power within the frame of everyday life, that even its sparing use is sufficient to ensure continuity. The Budapest government itself went through a process of self-education, until finally it reached this state of wisdom that is appropriate even for Confucius.

"One must grant breathing space to the intelligentsia, and not suppress it with the help of the state. One must strive for the faithfulness of one's citizens not with the help of stupid policemen but through careful selectivity and a "numerus clausus" in the educational system. One must ensure that he who moves within the channels of the system should enjoy tangible advantages. Instead of handling them as cases for high treason, one must attempt to make the inflexible frame somewhat more flexible and more viable."

In Budapest they have come to understand that neither the technocrats, nor the scholars, nor even the artists are necessarily the vanguards of the struggle for liberty. They may become such vanguards but only if their aspiration remain unfulfilled. In general, the regime came to realize that these functionally leading social strata, which in a nationalized industrial society have occupied the place of the bourgeoisie, also have real interests. Moreover, it has remained unperturbed by the recognition that these interests can in fact be satisfied in a monolithic state.

This is how the "Hungarian miracle" came into being. Hungarian society is in the process of demonstrating that it can be transformed from a post-Stalinist crisis-society into a lasting civilization; and with careful concessions, the planning, organizing, directing and cultural intelligentsia can become supporters of the monolithic state. It is not enough for these strata to serve the state. Security demands that they should also constitute the state. Without relinquishing its monolithic identity, the Hungarian state has reoriented itself to become the real protection of the interests of these new strata that are the products of the process of total nationalization.

The technocrats and the economists generally do not protest when the state strips the workers under their supervision of their rights. The primary consideration of these specialists is that the state should not impede such pragmatic reforms that are intended to make supervision into a true and effective system.

The scientist's goal is to be able to pursue research. Thus, until state guidance means simply the availability of equipment and of orders--in other words real influence, and not commitment to stupid dogmas--they have no reason to try to act independently. Why couldn't for example, sociologists study real social conflicts? All one has to do is to oblige them to finish their conclusions with useful proposals for the state. They should not try to be sociologists of sociology, but rather sociologists of the state.

Not even artists are necessarily trustees of the holy spirit of liberty. They are not really born enemies of the totalitarian state. According to a cynical Hungarian joke--which is typical of Budapest and not of Solzhenitsyn--if Solzhenitsyn would have been appointed in time to the presidency of the Writers' Union, then his "Gulag" would never have been written. Moreover, if someone else would have authored it, Solzhenitsyn would undoubtedly have voted for his expulsion. Directed culture is in fact a viable one and the artists themselves can keep it going. This is the recognition that signifies the apogee of the Hungarian Government's unquestionable wisdom. Nationalized art assures considerable advantages to the artists; and all one has to do is to guarantee these advantages.

Artists must not be viewed as propagandists, but rather as advisors. They should not be obliged to illustrate party decisions. Rather, they should be the tacit and artistic voices of those powers that may serve to hinder the process of integration. The artist has to be transformed into a responsible expert, into the elaborator of aesthetic needs of public and private life. The obligation of the state is to put into effect the views of these advisors. And why shouldn't the state do this, even to the extent of giving in to criticism, when these artists are simply producing expert opinions of the state's own welfare?

The enlightened version of this directed culture can really produce "miracles." Thus, in 1977, the most famous member of the 1956 writers' generation has openly condemned the Czechoslovak authors of Charter 1977, as well as its few Hungarian supporters. We have no reason to doubt that he had expressed his honest opinion. But one must also know the fact that in the meanwhile he had become the official prince of the writers, as well as a subject in the comprehensive examinations preceding graduation from secondary schools. The makers of cultural policy know that even without censors, artists generally practice self-censorship, especially if it is possible to keep alive a voluntary commitment toward the common welfare. All these formulators have to do is to watch that in the eyes of the artists they should be identified with the system which officially supports the artists' prestige. I know of many good artists also here in the West who--being subjected to the whims of the marketplace--are dreaming precisely of such a situation of being supported by such an all-powerful patron. One can hardly doubt that nowadays a centralized society can lend its weight more than ever before to the support of artistic recognition. There are very few artists who can withstand the pressures of such a great recognition. In Hungary they even know that insofar as there are such dissenting artists, they don't have to be imprisoned. All they have to do is to give an artist an exit visa. Then he can talk without self-censorship at various dissident international conferences. But he cannot really state with clear conscience that his arguments against directed culture represent any kind of artistic concensus in Hungary.

In short, the Hungarian regime has recognized that it can avoid producing its own Juan Carlos's and its own Dubcek's. It thus became the pioneer of the civilization of state socialism. It is searching for new paths and for methods of survival for this social system, which is already the most successful experimentation of an industrial society in its effort to cast off the dead weight of human rights. Hungarian politics is consciously searching for those concessions which are not weakening the post-Stalinist foundations. The culminating result of these achievements is the fact that in Hungary there is no independent culture.

Dissidents who appear at international forums complain about the Hungarian system--in total disagreement with the generally conciliatory views of the Westerners--nowadays generally strike a very sorry figure. I have no intention of claiming that life in Hungary is not much more tolerable than in several of the neighboring states. But I would like to point out two facts concerning the present and the future, so as to lessen our illusions.

My concern is the question of progress. Not only Marxists have fallen into the error of interpreting historical evolution as necessary progress. Such optimism might lead to the falsification of the goals that Hungarian society has already achieved or can achieve under the present system.

It is misleadingly optimistic and specifically wrong to assert that Hungary has made gains in the area of human rights. The regime has refused to engage in open trials wherein known intellectuals would be accused. But this does not mean that it would fail to persecute unknown workers, students and others of the lower ranks with the same unchanged rigidity, should they try to practice their freedom of speech. Like in the 1950's, even a single expression is enough to land one in jail. Many hundreds of legal proceedings are being initiated on the basis of the legal paragraph that limits freedom of speech. This paragraph No 127 of the Law Code is the very same paragraph that is being used in the neighboring countries to sentence noted intellectuals. About half of these proceedings end with prison sentences. At the present moment 140 persons are in jail for having expressed differing views. Thus, the popular Western view that in Hungary there are no political prisoners is sadly untrue. The number of these trials is not really less, even in absolute numbers, than in the neighboring states. While this misinformation is bad enough, it is even worse that the Hungarian intellectuals fail to protest against this clearcut violation of human rights. This lack of protest does not speak for progress even if it appears that way. This is a new piece of information on the nature of the "Hungarian miracle."

Nor is the score more favorable in other areas of human rights. Hungarian regulations concerning passports are less liberal than their Polish counterparts. Moreover, passports are being denied to many hundreds per year simply because of political reasons. The right of assembly has not changed at all since 1948. Everything that seems like progress in this area stems from the more relaxed attitudes and of the actual privileges enjoyed by a select group. Western visitors should not entrust the cabbage to the goat. If they do not wish to confuse certain well-selected privileges with alleged progress in human rights, then they should not try to secure their information from members of this select group.

The general view about the potential future of Hungarian state socialism also needs to be corrected. The "Hungarian miracle" is not a trend that under fortunate circumstances might lead to democratization, and under less fortunate circumstances to a conflict with reactionary neighbors. Neither this nor that is the question here. What we see really is an undertaking that has released the hidden historical reserves of the state socialist system and then, avoiding the formation of an opposition, it reached a degree of stability. But viewing the absence of an opposition as proof for a trend toward freedom does not say much for the strong democratic conviction of the individual. The limits of Hungarian developments are exactly there, where the similar limits of the other state socialist systems--more specifically where the rights to freedom begin. Neither today nor in the future can the current Hungarian regime trespass these limits. Illusions concerning these limits were clearly liquidated by the Czechoslovak intervention of 1968. Not even the Hungarian intelligentsia shares these illusions anymore. Its support, therefore, is all the more pragmatic.

The moral lesson of the Hungarian developments is that progress should not be measured by the number of repressive measures against noted personalities. The progress of liberty has only one reliable scale, namely the number of free individuals. Thus, in spite of the greater repression in today's Poland, Polish society is still freer than its Hungarian counterpart. The reason for this is that there are more individuals who dare and want to speak, act and live without self-censorship.

Hungarian state socialism with all its air of liberalism demonstrates only what the other state socialist systems demonstrate with the air of terrorism, namely that there are no institutional guarantees for freedom. The whole history of socialism is a proof of the pointlessness of that tendency according to which we are trying to secure freedom through the transformation of institutions. A controlled individual is just as much at the mercy of a liberal state socialist government, as he was at the mercy of a terroristic state. We are not going to be aided by some sort of a scientific solution either. We can only change ourselves. This, of course, is a possibility that not even the "Hungarian miracle" can prevent. As it is evident, I am not a pessimist.

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Washington, D.C. 20540

August 7, 1980

TO : Honorable Abraham Ribicoff
Attention: Harold Lux

FROM : Central Research Section
Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division

SUBJECT : Emigration From Romania

United States-Romanian relations entered a new phase with the granting of most favored nation (MFN) status to Romania in August 1975. With this action the U.S. allowed Romania to become the first Communist nation to be granted MFN status under the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of the 1974 Trade Act. 1/ Under this act "nonmarket economy" countries which receive MFN treatment must either have open emigration policies or demonstrate that they are making significant progress toward that end. Thus, since 1975 Romania's MFN status has come up for review annually in the U.S.. Its renewal is contingent on Romanian emigration practices.

Romania's record on emigration since the granting of MFN has been a mixed one. An overall increase in the number of Romanians being allowed to emigrate has been counterbalanced by downward trends in some specific categories of emigration as well as by increasingly difficult procedures for obtaining a passport. Now, a Romanian wishing to emigrate must face a longer and more complicated application process in addition to the years of unemployment, social isolation, and harassment which normally accompany the expression of a desire to leave. Since 1978 people wishing to emigrate

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1/ Poland and Yugoslavia, two Communist countries which already enjoyed U.S. MFN status prior to passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment were not subject to its terms.

have been required to get on a waiting list for a pre-application form which must be accepted before a person can obtain the application form itself. Also, a six month waiting period has been established before a new pre-application or application form can be applied for after one has been rejected. The result of all of this has been fewer applications and even more years of waiting for those who go through with the process.

But the outlook for Romanian emigration is not completely gloomy. Even though Ceausescu's regime is often characterized as the most repressive in Eastern Europe, since 1975 there have been many pressures on him to loosen his tight hold on Romanian society. In addition to the increased U.S. scrutiny of his emigration policies which he is now subject to, his signing of the Helsinki accords in 1975 has given the international community a legitimate interest with respect to human rights in Romania. The Helsinki agreement has also been the spark for unprecedented protests against Ceausescu within Romania--the most famous of these being the human rights protest led by Paul Goma immediately before the Belgrade Conference in 1977, and Karoly Kiraly's 1978 open letter protesting the condition of the Hungarian minority in Romania. All of these events have combined to force emigration concessions from a leader whose desire for independence from the Soviet Union has necessitated his great concern for good relations with the West.

Before examining the statistics on emigration several caveats are in order. The most important concerns the nature of the Romanian regime. Like all Soviet-bloc nations, Romania believes that the interests of the state take precedence over the interests of the individual. Thus the Romanian government feels it is legitimate to control the movement of its citizens since loss of manpower could be disastrous for a country with such a low rate of population growth and high rate of industrialization. The regime discourages emigration to the point of harassment and accompanies this policy with continous nationali tic appeals to all Romanians to work for the good of their nation. The only reason for emigrating which the authorities view as legitimate is family reunification—and this often only when accompanied by pressure from the West.

Evaluating Romania's progress is also complicated by the fact that accurate statistics on the size of the different minorities and those wishing to leave are impossible to obtain. Romania seems interested in minimizing the size of its minorities while members of the minorities have an incentive t deny their nationality to avoid discrimination and enhance the prospects of pr fessional advancement. Thus the figures given are rough approximations at bes

Romania's largest ethnic minorities seeking actively to emigrate are the Germans and the Jews. The situation of the German community has been the most encouraging in recent years. Estimates of the total number of ethnic Germans in Romania vary from a low of 300,000 to a high of 600,000 with the majority agreeing on a figure around 400,000. It is believed that the Romanians treat their German minority relatively well—allowing them to maintain German schoo and German communities. 2/ Still, the majority of Germans in Romania wish to join their relatives in West Germany. Although Romania is reluctant to let its highly skilled German population go, West Germany is Romania's largest trading partner in the West-a fact which entitles the FRG to cooperation from Romania in the area of emigration. Thousands of ethnic Germans have emigrate to West Germany in recent years under the terms of bilateral FRG--Romanian agreements.

2/ Washington Post, June 13, 1977, "Germans Coming 'Home'", p. B5 by Michael Gelter.

Table 1 indicates the dramatic increase in emigration to Germany which has taken place recently:

Table 1: Romanian Emigration to West Germany 3/

Year	Total Annual Emigration
1975	3,870
1976	2,720
1977	10,000
1978	11,000

Although the 1979 figure was slightly lower—9,681—figures for the first six months of 1980 indicate a yearly total of 10,000-12,000. 4/ Thus the overall picture on Romanian emigration to Germany is encouraging.

The situation of the Jewish community is more mixed. Since Romania is the only Soviet-bloc nation which maintains diplomatic relations with Israel, the Jews in Romania have been far better off than their counterparts in other communist countries. They are afforded such privileges as kosher restaurants, a Jewish state theater, and Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers. But exit visas are still very difficult to obtain and it is doubtful that they are allowed the complete cultural and religious freedom which Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen claims they enjoy.

The size of the Jewish community in Romania is the subject of a lot of debate. Estimates range from the official figure of 25,000 to a high of 80,000. A State Department spokesman said that the most acceptable figure is 35-40,000, and indeed this is the one that most sources seem to use.

3/ World Refugee Crisis: The International Community's Response, CRS report, August 1979, p. 186.

4/ Implementation on the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Finding & Recommendations Five Years After Helsink, August 1980, prepared by Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (to be published in three weeks).

As with the German minority, the many Jewish people see emigration as the solution to the problems they find in Romania. After World War II the Jews were allowed to emigrate relatively easily, but as the Jewish population dwindled to a small fraction of its postwar size the authorities began to clamp down. Emigration to Israel has decreased drastically in recent years. (see Table 2)

Table 2: Romanian Emigration to Israel 5/

Year	Total Annual Emigration
1975	2,140
1976	2,036
1977	1,334
1978	1,200

There is no agreement over the reason for this phenomenon. Western observers are not sure whether it is due to the Romanian government's restrictive emigration policies or whether the reason is that there are few Jews left in Romania who wish to emigrate. Although the Romanian government would like the latter explanation to be accepted, it seems unlikely given the many known cases of Jews who have tried to emigrate for years still being denied passports.

In contrast to this discouraging trend Romanian emigration to the U.S., of which is estimated 10 to 25 percent is Jewish, has increased dramatically since the granting of MFN status. (see Table 3)

Table 3: Number of Romanians given permission to leave for the U.S. 6/

Year	Total Annual Emigration
1975	890
1976	1,021
1977	1,240
1978	1,775
1979	1,600

5/ Ibid.

6/ Ibid.

Progress has also been made regarding cases on the U.S. Representation List although it usually takes years for the people concerned to be allowed to emigrate.

Although not directly related to the emigration issue, the alleged discriminatory treatment of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania has aroused much concern in this country in recent years. Romania's Hungarian population represents the largest ethnic minority in Europe with an estimated size of two million—about 10% of the total population of Romania. The Hungarians are concentrated in Transylvania—a land whose ownership has changed hands between Romania and Hungary several times in this century. Unlike the other ethnic and religious groups in Romania, the Hungarians do not wish to leave Transylvania which has been their homeland for centuries. Instead they are concerned with improving conditions in Romania—specifically, maintaining their Hungarian identity, and putting an end to what they see as a policy of forced assimilation being directed against them by the Romanian authorities.

The plight of the Hungarians was brought to the forefront in 1978 when Karoly Kiraly, a former high official in the Romanian Communist Party, wrote an open letter to Ceausescu protesting Romanian discrimination against its Hungarian population. Some of the things he complained about were job discrimination, the decreased use of Hungarian in schools and in the community and the severe restrictions placed on contact with relatives in Hungary.

Kiraly's protest caused a response from the Hungarian regime which had hitherto been silent about the minority issue. The result was a 1977 meeting between Ceausescu and Kadar during which respect for the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary were promised. But no progress has been made in that area thus far. The official Romanian response to complaints of discrimination is repression and denial—Ceausescu claims all Romanians enjoy the same rights regardless of ethnic origin. Thus the plight of the large Hungarian community in Romania remains uncertain at this time.

Overall Romania's record on emigration is encouraging, although the Ceausescu regime makes the emigration process long and difficult. The number of emigrants has steadily increased and many observers believe that there is promise of a continuation of that trend if the West keeps up its pressure on Romania and Ceausescu remains concerned about friendly relations with the West.

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL, INC.
10 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020 • (212) 581-6420

August 1, 1980

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff, Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The National Foreign Trade Council, whose membership comprises a broad cross section of highly diversified interests engaged in all aspects of international trade and investment, supports the President's recommendation for a further extension of the authority under the Trade Act of 1974 to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402 thereof.

Extension of the waiver authority will allow continued Most-Favored-Nation treatment with the Socialist Repubic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China, and will assure further growth in our economic relations with these countries.

The United States currently enjoys a favorable trade balance with each of those countries, and we believe that expansion of this trade will be in the national interest. Nondiscriminatory trade helps create an environment of cooperation and reduced tension in which vital national objectives can best be achieved.

It is respectfully requested that this statement on behalf of the National Foreign Trade Council be included in the record of the hearings.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Roberts

Richard W. Roberts
President

RWR:bg

Founded in 1914, the National Foreign Trade Council, Inc. is a private non-profit organization for the promotion and protection of United States international trade and investments.

COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC. (ERDÉLYI BIZOTTSÁG.) Founded 1956

LOUIS L. LÖTE, PRESIDENT
216 Yarmouth Rd.
Rochester, N.Y. 14610

Central Office:
[illegible] 1542 Belle Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio [illegible] 44107

STATEMENT
OF
LOUIS L. LOTE
PRESIDENT, COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC.

Prepared for the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

of the

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

SUBJECT:
MOST-FAVORED-NATION TARIFF STATUS
FOR RUMANIA

JULY 21,1980

COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC. (ERDÉLYI BIZOTTSÁG.) Founded 1956

LOUIS L. LŐTE, PRESIDENT
216 Yarmouth Rd.
Rochester, N.Y. 14610
Tel.(716) 288-2014

Central Office:
1542 Belle Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44107

July 21,1980

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Subcommittee on
International Trade:

I thank again for the opportunity to be able to participate at this hearing and to set forth my views and these of the Committee of Transylvania. Our organization has been working in the last 15 years on behalf of Rumania's suppressed nationalities, particularly its largest and oldest Hungarian population which is concentrated in the formerly Hungarian province of Transylvania.

Their estimated number is about 2.5 million. Counting the close to ½ a million strong German community, and smaller groups of Serbian,Ukrainian, Russian and other nationals living in Transylvania, the total number of non-Rumanians may amount to 42-46 % of the total population of that province. The Hungarians alone make up about 33 %.

In view of these figures and of the fact that Hungarians have been living in Transylvania for thousand years, you, Gentlemen, have every right to believe that Hungarians are at home in their and their ancestors' homeland,Transylvania and enjoy equal rights with the Rumanian population of the province.

Nothing is farther from the truth. Hungarians, in fact, are second rate citizens in their native land.

They must not use their motherlanguage at any government offices and services(railway, bus, post office, telephon,telegraph,etc.), nor can they use Hungarian at law-courts. The number of Hungarian elementary and high-schools or even Hungarian classes in Rumanian schools have been dangerously reduced in the last few years by government decrees, that some 25-30% of the Hungarian children never have the chance to learn his mother language (except at home) and study the rest of the other subjects in Hungarian. What's more: Rumanian schools serve the curious purpose of degrading Hungarian pupils by ecstatic glorification of Rumaniah history climaxing in sheer untruths, and calling Hungarians "intruders", "vagabonds" who do not belong in Rumania. The official teaching goes so far as stating that the Rumanian people are the most glorious, the most magnificent people on earth, a veritable "Herrenrasse". But if the father of the Hungarian child explains him or her about Hungarian achievements in Transylvania and the child asks about them from the Rumanian teacher, chances are that the poor kid will be beaten up by the teacher or the Rumanian classmates, and the father by the police.

You may laugh at the Rumanian self-idolization but is deadly serious to be at the receiving end of constant degradations without any chance of recourse. And what is the consequence of this Rumanian attitude inspired and maintained by national-communist Rumanians on all level of government and party organs? Frustration and hatred on all level of communities, specifically in Transylvania where an ethnic mixture of population has lived side by side for many centuries. If someone views animosities between Rumanians,Hungarians and Germans in Transylvania as a result of past mishandling of the nationality question, he or she fails to recognize the hate-mongering role of the present minority policies of the now 15 years old Ceausescu-era. Many of the schools in Transylvania make Rumanian youth hate Hungarians and Germans for being what they are,non-Rumanians,and as such they are in the way of the pure Rumanian state of Rumania which seems to be the major national goal of the Ceausescu regime. I don't want to believe that the Rumanian people are to be characterized collectively as hateful and intolerant toward other nationalities in Rumania. But it is sure that government policies on all levels promote that attitude, and not without succes. Minority Hungarians at school suffer immensely under the heavy pressure of the hostile environment. Their hatred of their suppressive masters is the logical result of being constantly humiliated, degraded.

The historically Hungarian or German cities, towns, villages, and the entire Szekelyland in Transylvania are being broken up and turned into Rumanian dominated places by the aid of systematic, mass resettlements of ethnic Rumanians from outside Transylvania. Of course, the swift industrialising process carried out by the Ceausescu government might make some dislocation of peoples necessary. But it is also true that under the pretext of economic necessity the entire Hungarian community of Transylvania can be dispersed and so destroyed, and in its place ethnic Rumanians resettled. It is only matter of time. Yes,the life of the Hungarian nation in Rumania seems to be condemned to death,....if help fails to come.

The placement or transfer of Hungarian intellectuals out of Transylvania into the old Rumanian provinces of Moldavia or Wallachia is seen as another attack against the Hungarian community of Rumania. When, for instance, a Hungarian doctor wants to work where his or her patients are Hungarians, yet he or she is transferred out of Transylvania, it is hard to believe the transfer is an economic necessity. Putting together many such examples indicates that it is done from a systematic de-Hungarianization intent; to gradually deprive Hungarians from their potential leaders, and trying to Rummianize that Hungarian family, particularly the children who will be brought up in Rumanian community in Rumanian school.

Teaching the prevailing language of a country is not an excessive demand by a government,but suppressing the language of national minorities is an evil pirinciple and practice, also it violates elementary human rights.What's more, both, Hungarians and Rumanians have been populating the territory of Transylvania and lived side by side for the last 800 years so that both languages are native and home languages of Transylvania. A sense of equality should govern transylvanian language policies between the two languages; in certain areas the German should enjoy a similar status. A fair balance of the language question was achieved in Northern-Transylvania under Hungarian rule from 1940 to 1945 when the Hungarian government made teaching of Rumanian at school compulsory for all the students, be it Hungarian, Rumanian or German. Now, 30-40 years later only the Rumanian is compulsory; Hungarian or German languages are suppressed. A giant step backward, indeed.

Historical sciences are also put in the service of Rumanian nationalistic policies. The theorie that the Rumanians are descendants of the ancient Dacians and Roman occupying soldiers is the official Rumanian view which must not be challenged by any Rumanian scientist. Countrywide celebrations of a curious obscure event, the 2050th anniversary of the birth of Dacia, have been going on this July,climaxed with a spectacular show in Bucharest in order to show the Rumanian nation and to the rest of the world that the Rumanians are the first and only inhabitant of Transylvania thus the only rightful owner of the land. Of course, Rumanians and any other nations have the right to celebrate whatever they want to. The implications of the theorie of Dacian descendence and the celebration thereof are appalling; first the theorie is false because it is undocumented, unproven, and because more historical certainty puts the first emergence of Rumanian tribes deep in the Balkan peninsula and not in Dacia. Rumanian historians agree with Hungarian ones in that the first documented evidence of Rumanians in Transylvania is from 1210,that is 300 years after the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin including Transylvania.

I believe that nations which have been populating an area for many hundred years can and should consider the land of their ancestors as their native, home land, their only homeland, irrespective which of them was on the land first preceding the others with a few hundred years. But in the case of Rumania they promote a false theory for the origin of the Rumanian nation, and use that false theorie to downgrade, humiliate their non-Rumanian fellow - Transylvanians. What a cynical, unmoral nationalism it is to call people, like Hungarians, "intruders", "vagabonds" who established the Carpathian-bordered Hungary(and within:Transylvania)one thousand years ago, and Germans who were resettled in Transylvania by Hungarian kings some 800 years ago.

Thus it would be a grave mistake to see the status of Transylvanian Hungarians as identical to that of any ethnic group in the United States. The difference is obvious and decisive in significance; the United States is a country of emigrants who more or less gave up their nationality, with it the education of their offspring in their mothertongue, for a better life, or for freedom. They might carry on in their free time an ethnic life, using their mothertongue in the family and with friends from the same ethnic group, maintaining their original culture and tradition, visiting the old country etc. But they know that their children or grandchildren will not speak their parents or grandparents' language, will know little about the culture and history of the old country, and they will become full fledged members of the great American nation. They will also know that they are free to establish ethnic schools for their children, if they are able to organize and fund them on their own.

Whereas Rumania is not a country of emigrants. The people of Rumania have lived in the same land for many centuries whether they are Rumanians, Hungarians or Germans. Their native land is their homeland no matter how the name of the country changes,from Hungary to Rumania, and back to Hungary again (this is the case of Northern Transylvania) and back again from Hungary to Rumania. The people in the meantime, of course, remain the same nationalities. It would be mentally and physically impossible for a Hungarian to become a Rumanian, or vice versa, just because vicissitudes of history moves their land's political border over their head. It is anybody's inalienable right to keep the national identity (However, it seems that only Hungarians are denied this right; as the consequence of the Peace Treaty of Trianon,60 years ago, one out of every three Hungarians still lives in a foreign country neighboring Hungary.)

The solution for the large Hungarian and German population of Rumania thus cannot be the same as that of American ethnicity, which is integration and gradual absorption into a 220 million strong "American" nation.

If anybody wants to suggest that the future of more than 4 million Hungarians in Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia is to become Rumanian,Czech, Slovak, Serb, Croat or Austrian, and so full assimilation is the solution of the minority question in Rumania, that person does not believe in human rights at all, or he (she) must be ardently anti-Hungarian.

Our position was spelled out in a memorandum adpoted at our annual meeting in 1973 and endorsed by all the major Transylvanian oriented organizations existing at that time such as the American-Transylvanian Federation (U.S.A.), Movimento Pro Transylvania (Brazil), Australian-Transylvanian Federation (Australia). We defined our position as follows:

1/ No nation should be destroyed whether by forced assimilation to another culture or/and the suppression of the nation's original language and culture.

2/ It is the destiny of the Hungarian and Rumanian nations to co-exist in the Eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, i.e. Transylvania where their ethnic frontiers overlap.

3/ There can be no fruitful co-existence, true brotherhood, or genuine peace between oppressed and oppressor, for these things can only exist between equals.

4/ We believe that the Rumanian Government should give meaningful recognition to the fact that the Hungarians of Transylvania did not immigrate into Transylvania. To the contrary, Hungarians have been inhabitants of Transylvania for many centuries, beginning with the time when Hungary including the territory of Transylvania,was established 1000 years ago. Hungarians' individual right to Transylvania are inalienable and not a jot weaker than the right of the Rumanian population of many centuries.

5/ We believe that the Rumanian Government should fundamentally re-evaluate its thinking on the assimilation of Transylvanian Hungarians. Renouncing of Rumanienization coupled with good-faith-implementing this change of policy would be a great contribution to genuine peace and harmony in that part of the world.

6/We believe that the proposals now to follow - if implemented - will serve to make Transylvania a better place to live for Hungarians and Rumanians alike.

Our position of 1973 has not changed in the next 7 years and our proposals made in the 1973 memorandum may resolve the Transylvanian problem satisfactorily:

1/ Give Transylvania the status of a special province to be governed and administered by Rumanians and Hungarians in proportion of their respective population, on all levels of government.

2/ Make Hungarian an official state language, equal ranking with Rumanian, throughout Transylvania and other former territories of Hungary attached to Rumania by the Trianon peace treaty.

3/ Grant cultural autonomy to the Hungarian population and discontinue the present system of making Hungarian cultural institutions atrophied appendages of corresponding Rumanian cultural institutions.

4/ Legislate equality of Hungarians and Rumanians in civil and national rights in all aspect of human endeavors,including education in mother tongue, job placement generally and in leadership positions, cultural developments, moving into cities, and allocation of funds to government controlled institutions and activities.

5/ Implement laws against discrimination on all governmental levels with full vigor in order to wipe out discrimination against the non-Rumanian citizens of Rumania.

6/ Establish a complete and independent Hungarian school system.

7/ Make the Kolozsvar/Cluj University, and other Hungarian institutions of higher education Hungarian again.

8/ Renounce the Rumanian national policy aimed at the Rumanianization, assimilation and absorption of the Hungarian population of Rumania.More particularly:

a/ No further alteration of the ethnic structure of Transylvania at the expense of the Magyar and German population by any means,including resettlement of Transylvanian Hungarians outside Transylvania, or Rumanians into Transylvania.

b/ Stop establishing Rumanian schools in Hungarian communities.

c/ Do not send Hungarian students to universities outside Transylvania. Rather increase capacity of the Kolozsvar/Cluj Hungarian University and of other Hungarian higher edutional institutions.

d/ Stop scattering Hungarian intellectuals in all parts of Rumania outside Transylvania.

Some of these proposals may seem radical compared to the gradualism in the deterioration of the Hungarian situation in Rumania. But again the gradual worsening occured during the Ceausescu-era amounts to a radical change for the bad,accumulated in the last 15 years. Our proposals also serve for general information for the distinguished members of the Subcommittee on International Trade, and indirectly for the venerable members of the United States Senate, as to how Hungarians all over the free world see the problem of human rights violations in Rumania.

There are many sources of more detailed information on this matter.It would be repetitious to list further grievances in my present statement. Among them I recommend most the elaborate statements of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, the "Witnesses to Cultural Genocide" containing first-hand reports on Rumania's Minority Policies written by some of the leading Transylvanian Hungarian representatives, communist or not. The book was published in 1979 jointly by the above mentioned committee and the American Transylvanian Federation,Inc. Another book just came off the press this July having its subject the origin of the Rumanian nation. This scholarly work, "Transylvania and the theorie of Daco-Roman-Rumanian continuity" was published by the Committee of Transylvania, Inc. A copy of this volume is being here attached.

Transylvania oriented organizations, in their constant efforts to help ameliorate the fate of the oppressed Hungarians in Transylvania, thought that the procedure of annual extension of the Most-favored-nation status for Rumania might serve as a good leverage against Rumanian violations of human rights. In the last few years we gradually became aware of the growing friendship between the U.S. and Rumania, and learned that the alleged independent foreign politics, emigration policies of and the increased trade with Rumania serve American interest of considerable degree. We learned also, and we did it with a growing sense of disappointment,that our government is ready to meddle in the internal affairs of a foreign country, Rumania, in behalf of a small minority, those who want to emigrate out of Rumania, but largely ignores the plight of the overwhelming majority, the Hungarian and German minorities of that country. In this aspect our goverment seems to respect Mr.Ceausescu's repeated utterances that Rumania does not permit meddling in their internal affairs by any foreign government.This is, of course, the basic tenet of sovereignity, as such there is nothing new in it, except that sovereignity is not a license to any kind of domestic suppression and human rights violations.

This organisation, and I believe all the Transylvania oriented organizations are grateful that - even if with very low profile - there were dialogues between the US and Rumania n government in the Hungarian question last year and also this year. It is also appreciated that a congressional delegation went to Rumania to get first hand information on this situation. But we know too that a member of this delegation, Rep.Richard T. Schulze was not able to get to one of the best sources, Karoly Kiraly,because this planned meeting with him was prevented by Rumanian authorities by all kind of hollow pretexts.

We know that Karoly Kiraly, a deposed Hungarian member of the communist Rumanian leadership, started a new campaign on behalf of the Hungarians of Rumania and we know from him that the Rumanian Communsit Party worked up a plan for the solution of Rumania's minority problems which call for assimilation, homogenization or integration. These three separately listed alternatives mean all the same thing: cultural genocide.

Hungarians make up appr. 12% of Rumania's total population.(That's our estimate.) By their number they do not represent a central question of Rumania. But they make up about one-third of Transylvania's population. Transylvania is their homeland, and not Rumania, as a whole. Their past, presence and future is a major problem/for them and for the Rumanians alike. Transylvanian Hungarians, of course, are part of the only Hungarian nation of some 15-16 million. There is only one Hungarian language, culture, literature whether they are carried on in Hungary,Rumania, Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia. The central question in my, and many Hungarians' mind ; is the Hungarian nation something special which is not protected by international pronouncements, common decency, human rights, is any one out of three Hungarians a slave to be traded,assimilated, homogenized, integrated?

/there

The people of this country have seen a great number of interest-groups, ethnic or business, which try to promote government policies favoring their own interests and not those of the country. Our ever increasing friendship with Rumania might be a thorn in many Americans' mind who believe that with our relations to communist countries we should exercise restraint on ideological ground. But politics, including foreign relations, and national interests do bring together strange bedfellows. Rumania, with its Stalinist domestic policies, with the suppression and annihilation-intent of its national minorities, constant violation of human rights, and its tasteless personal cult of Mr.Ceausescu (and his family) is one of the least fitting friends of the United States.

Students of Rumanian history might justifiedly question the reliability of this friendship. But if relation has been deemed important for the United States as it comes out clear from various statements, and particularly strongly from this year joint activities with the Rumaniens,(such as a round table discussion on human rights in February in Bucharest, a visit by a Rumanian delegation to the US,received by several federal agencies, and by President Carter and Vice-President Mondale, the opening of two new trade promotion offices, in addition to the three existing ones, an agreement on setting up a joint trading company to market Rumanian and American products in Europe and the Middle East, a week-long visit of a Rumanian parliamentary delegation in the United States), Transylvania oriented organizations have to recognize America's interest first.

But why not use friendship to promote human and minority rights in a friendly country, such as Rumania? Human rights are one of the basic natural right of people which makes human life on this earth worthwhile. If the US government does not press respect for human rights in friendly countries,it runs the risk that our entire human rights policies will be interpreted abroad as a political gimmick applied by our Government as a means of propaganda or as a political weapon for furthering American foreign political ends.

I respectfully propose to turn the American-Rumanian friendship into a vehicle for saving the national minorities of Rumania from annihilation through linguistic, cultural and resettlement policies of that communist government; in short, saving over three million peoples of Rumania, concentrated in their historic homeland Transylvania, from cultural genocide.

Germany already acted to save the German population of Rumania. An agreement between Germany(West) and Rumania providing for 10,000 Germans' annual emigration from Transylvania to West-Germany. In so many years that will be the end of the half-a-million strong German community of Transylvania, after 800 years of prospereous life there (under Hungarian governments). But Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German foreign-minister recently told his Rumanian counterpart visiting in Bonn, that Transylvanian Germans would be happy to stay in their homeland if Rumanian minority policies would radically change for the better.

Hungarians are indigeneous inhabitants of Transylvania. Little Hungary could not absorb 2.5 million Hungarians from Rumania. The great mass of Transykvanian Hungarians wants to remain what they had been, what they are: Transylvanian Hungarians. To this they stand up, but they desperately need help from major powers who believe in human rights,fair play and justice. So they need help of the United States.

L Lote

Louis L. Lote

Enclosure

INTERNATIONAL UNION

Allied Industrial Workers

OF AMERICA

Telephone

July 25, 1980

The Hon. Abraham Ribicoff, Chairman
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
  TRADE, FINANCE COMMITTEE
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

The Allied Industrial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO) strongly urges that action be taken to end the Most Favored Nation status afforded Hungary insofar that it concerns the importation of truck axles.

We feel that the Most Favored Nation Status places American manufacturers at a disadvantage, particularly when it involves nations whose employers do not face the same conditions as those in private enterprise. Foreign nations, like Hungary, are able to assist their manufacturers in a number of ways that are not available to the American manufacturer. Furthermore, there is no free trade union movement, as is typical in this country, to protect the interests of working people. Such foreign manufacturers furthermore do not face costly requirements in providing a safe working place, and in other areas.

It is no mystery then that the foreign manufacturer is able to export his goods at a rate that is competitive with that of the American manufacturer. We feel that this puts American businesses, and their workers, at an unfair disadvantage, and is further adding to our unemployment problems in the nation.

page 2
Most Favored Nation

We are particularly affected by this problem at Kenton, Ohio, where Local 109 of our union is in a deep layoff status. The workers there work for Rockwell International, which manufacturers truck axles, and approximately 35% of the 1,200-member workforce is currently on layoff, largely due to imports from Hungary.

We urge your careful consideration to this problem. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Dominick D'Ambrosio

Dominick D'Ambrosio
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

cc: J.B. Arnold, Director
AIW Region 4
Michael Stern

DD/KAG/jw
opeiu#9afl-cio

The Coca-Cola Company
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

J. PAUL AUSTIN
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P.O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA. 30301
(404) 898-2121

July 29, 1980

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

As you are considering the extension of the President's waiver authority under section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, I would like to express my support for granting Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China.

The United States enjoys an overall positive balance of trade with these three countries and each country has met the requirements as specified in the regulations of the 1974 Trade Act. It is my belief that discontinuing fair tariff practices with our bilateral trading partners would adversely affect our own country's best interest.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your continuing efforts to monitor these trade agreements to ensure that our country's interests are best served.

Sincerely,

Paul Austin

Colony
A Lancaster Colony Company

1115 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10010
212/924-7700

June 23, 1980

The Honorable Russell Long
Chairman Finance Committee of the
Senate Subcommittee for International Trade
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Re: Long-Term Most Favored Nation Treatment for Roumania

Dear Sir:

We, again, ask your favorable decision for Most Favored Nations consideration to Roumania for an unlimited period of time. Heretofore, this has been annually extended under the authorization of the Trade Act of 1974, Subsection 402.

Because of the subjection to the annual Most Favored Nation review, it is difficult both for this company's participation in trade with Roumania and for our Roumanian counterparts in establishing a sound and fluid business relationship. In our opinion, Roumania has proven her worthiness from her cultural and economical exchanges with the United States, The Peoples Republic of China, Israel, the Arab countries, and with developing African nations, which is a definite indication of her willingness to be a good influence in the world today.

Therefore, based on these briefly outlined points, it will be a hindrance to the progress of our relations with Roumania unless unlimited favored nations consideration to Roumania be allowed.

We wish to thank you for your consideration in giving your support to this end.

Respectfully yours,

PITMAN-DREITZER,
Division of Lancaster Colony Corp.

WILLIAM LOMBARDO
Import Manager

WL:lci

cc: M. Halpern
F. Civati
V. Dimitriuc - Roumanian Consulate

Statement

by

Juliana Geran Pilon
Visiting Scholar and
Earhart Fellow
Hoover Institution
on War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford University

I want to invite you to go back in time only seven short years, to imagine the hope with which dissidents like Alexander Solzhenitsyn greeted the resolve of the United States Congress to make tangible its concern for liberty behind the Iron Curtain. In his memoir The Oak and the Calf Solzhenitsyn tells us how elated he was to see that "the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was being broadened to include human rights in the U.S.S.R. as well as emigration!" And why should he not have hoped, when Senator Henry Jackson, writing in the New York Times of September 9, 1973, stated that the ultimate concern of U. S. foreign policy was internal Soviet repression: "it is evident," wrote Jackson, "that the supposed 'relaxation of tensions' in international affairs is not yet accompanied by a corresponding relaxation of Soviet internal control." After citing Andrei Sakharov's warning that détente without democratization would be "very dangerous," Jackson then ended by emphasizing that peace without liberty is mere illusion:

> The argument is not between proponents and detractors of détente but between those who recognize that a genuine era of international accomodation must be based on progress toward individual liberty and those who choose to pretend otherwise.

And even though a first step toward such progress was seen to involve eased emigration policies in Communist countries, the ultimate commitment of the Congress was to liberty as such.

Seven years later, despite the weight that the Carter Administration has added to these Congressional commitments, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment lies in near ruin, reduced to a confusing blend of humanitarian appearances and realpolitik. Congress and Administration alike seem content to believe that human rights are being respected if a modest (mostly Jewish) exodus is permitted from such countries as Romania, Hungary, and now China. What is worse, the principal reasons now heard in support of waiving the Amendment in these cases have little to do with human rights: "increased national independence," "good trading relations," and, all appearances of idealism erased, "a favorable U. S. balance of trade." One can only wonder whether the Jackson-Vanik Amendment has not already been repealed—de facto if not de jure. And maybe it should be repealed, if only to end the hypocrisy.

Or is it rather that in waiving the Amendment Congress is saying that it does not believe the endless train of witnesses who have brought their tragic testimony before this body? For let us be honest: waiving that Amendment for yet another year is tantamount to ignoring their pleas. Consider the case of my native Romania, which Congressman Richard Schulze has called "the most repressive government in Eastern Europe." Here we have the evidence of five years—the period since the first waiver of the Amendment. And that evidence is inescapable: exiled priests attesting to harrassment, imprisonment, and even torture of those guilty of nothing more than religious belief; ethnic Hungarians offering scrupulously documented proof of cultural genocide; desperate emigrants, Jews and nonJews alike (some having survived unspeakable ordeals), pleading with us to persuade the Romanian government to let their relatives go. These are witnesses you all have heard. But we have in addition the countless letters to Radio Free Europe from Romanian citizens suffocating from want and repression; we read the extraordinary personal account of exiled dissident Paul Goma, entitled The Earthquake of Man, documenting the total disregard for human liberties under the Ceausescu regime, describing ubiquitous fear and terror almost unimaginable to the outsider; we have all seen the latest Amnesty International report, released a few days ago, about the hundreds of political dissidents (including members of unofficial trade unions, would-be emigrants, religious activists, and ordinary critics of government practices) imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals under barbaric conditions, forced to do "corrective labor," imprisoned, tormented. And today comes one more—perhaps the most graphic—comment on this regime, as a small plane lands just within the Austrian border, its fuel having run out, with 21 Romanian citizens, including 8 small children, after having barely missed the high-tension wires encountered on its low-flying path (required to avoid being detected by radar): these are the risks worth taking to leave one's home, a country allegedly respectful of human rights—including the right to emigrate.

In fact, we have the evidence of our own reporters. The Washington Post informed its readers only a couple of weeks ago that Western newsmen find it virtually impossible to work in Romania, flanked as they are by an estimated 150 secret police agents and 75 police vehicles—per newsman! The reason, says the Post, is to prevent the press from talking to Romanian citizens. According to correspondent Michael Dobbs, the constant "harrassment of Western correspondents is a reflection of the extreme sensitivity of President Nicolae Ceausescu to negative publicity abroad about human rights violations in Romania." (The Washington Post, June 13, 1980). Harrassment it is indeed; only last month Peter Ristic of the *London Observer* was expelled, Khomeini-style, apparently because of his coverage last year of Romanian dissidents, including an independent trade union movement. What is most striking, however, is not so much the harrassment itself, which is not unexpected in a Communist country, but its style, which Dobbs describes in some detail: conspicuous almost by design, evidence of contempt not only for liberalism but for international protocol and legality. (Under the circumstances, is it not ludicrous for our Undersecretary of State David Newsom to claim, on June 12, that U.S.-Romanian relations prove that we can "work together in a spirit of trust, mutual respect and understanding"?)

Yet all this evidence is apparently ignored as Congress listens instead to businessmen who assure us that the Communists are "good trading partners." Never mind that the goods we sell them are available only to the Party elite; never mind that Ceausescu brasenly defied us by allowing the P.L.O. to disseminate inflamatory leaflets at a recent commercial exhibit in Bucharest; and never mind that much of Communist trade is financed by low-interest U.S. government credits. As for human rights—the assumption seems to be that trade spontaneously generates such rights, like Aristotle's maggots, *ex nihilo*. Myopia would be outrageous enough, but this looks too much like sheer cynicism. Watching the spectacle, Solzhenitsyn wrote in his memoir seven years ago:

> In these weeks of battle for the freedom of the mind, Eastern tyranny found even stauncher supporters in Western businessmen: in other words, the most loyal supporters of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" were the capitalists. They tried to persuade the U.S. Congress that *trade* was the very thing to reinforce the rights of man in the U.S.S.R.! There was one man of rare insight among them, Samuel Pisar, an enthusiast for closer trade relations with the U.S.S.R. for many years, who published on 3 October an open letter to Sakharov: "*The freedom of a single individual is more important than the whole of world trade put together*." (Original emphasis)

An ideal now moribund, if not quite dead. Only a few months ago the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was waived in the case of China, whose indifference to human rights is not even disguised. Our own media reported that China's official news agency Xinhua openly declared on October 26, 1979, that "Communists should never take human rights as their fundamental aim." This statement came only days after a Peking court sentenced Wei Jingsheng, one of China's leading dissidents, to a fifteen-year prison term. A few weeks later came the United States waiver of the Amendment: one can hardly believe that the stated purpose of that Amendment was "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights."

Is it too late to recapture that purpose? Are seven years too far back to go to resurrect the inspiration? As Senator Jackson wrote at the time:

> Without an increasing measure of individual liberty in the Communist world there can be no real movement toward a more peaceful world. If we permit form to substitute for substance, if we are content only with "atmospherics," we will fail to keep the peace.

An ominous message, for what have we now if not "atmospherics"? Can the illusion of cordial trade relations with countries whose anti-Russian posture isat best dubiously effective provide a sufficiently strong justification for abandoning our commitment to individual liberty? Not if we can still listen to the witnesses who remind us who these "good trading partners" really are. Not if we can still remember the millions of silent witnesses unable to be with us today. Not, indeed, if what we seek is genuine peace rather than a precarious, ephemeral facsimile. Our children too are watching.

22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

JULY 18, 1980

STATEMENT OF VIRGIL V. STANCIU
ON EXTENSION OF MOST FAVORITE NATION STATUS TOWARD ROMANIA

Reference: Mr. Victor Stanciu
Mrs. Versavia Stanciu - wife
Miss Maria Stanciu - daughter
Mr. Gheorghe Stanciu - son
Mr. Liviu Stanciu - son

Summary

The purpose of this statement is to bring to the attention of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the U.S. Senate that in the case of the above referenced people, residing at Com, Arpasul De Jos, No. 47, Jud. Sibiu 2406 Romania, the Romanian Government is not in compliance with the requirements of the Freedom of Emigration In East-West Trade Act 19 U.S.C. § 2432 (a) (1) (2).

From the attached documentation, it is evident that the Romanian Government deliberately is refusing the emigration documents to these people; and therefore, the "Most Favorite Nation" status must not be extended unless compliance with the "Freedom of Emigration Act" is met.

Facts

On April 30, 1979, I received a communication from the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest (Exhibit A), in which the American Consul informed Victor Stanciu on February 26, 1979 to apply for a passport.

On April 24, 1979, I received a letter from Victor Stanciu (my first cousin) stating that the Romanian Passport Authorities in Sibiu refused to give him the necessary application form for emigration, because an affidavit of support is required from me.

During the early part of May, 1979 I had a discussion with a Mr. Tanasescu, of the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., in which he assured me that the Emigration Passport for Victor Stanciu and his family will be processed as soon as I sent him a copy of the Affidavit of Support sent to Victor Stanciu; and on May 15, 1979, I did send such copy by registered mail return receipt (Exhibit B). No reply was ever received to this correspondence.

On June 7, 1979, I sent a letter to the Romanian Ambassador, Ionescu Mihai, also by registered mail return receipt (Exhibit C) asking him to help in the matter of the emigration of Victor Stanciu and his family. Once again I received no reply to this correspondence.

On the same date, June 7, 1979, I also sent a registered letter return receipt to a Mr. Nicolae, who is the ex-Ambassador of Romania to the U.S., in which I asked him again to look into Victor Stanciu's emigration status (Exhibit D). No reply was received.

On June 20, 1979, I wrote letters to Senator Metzenbaum and Chairman Charles A. Vanik of the Subcommittee of Ways and Means (Exhibits E and F), in which I asked them to intercede with the Romanian Ambassador on this matter.

On June 29, 1979, I had a telephone conversation with a Mr. Badea of the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C. in which he again assured me that Victor Stanciu's emigration case will be resolved in the very near future. On the same date I wrote both Senator Metzenbaum

Congressman Vanik letters; in which I informed them about my conversation with Mr. Badea and I asked them to support the extension for the "Most Favorite Nation" status to Romania. (Exhibit G and H)

On January 6, 1980, I received a telephone call from my cousin, Victor Stanciu, in which he informed me that the Romanian authorities are not only refusing a passport and the exit visa, but also the application forms, which much be filed for such documents.

On January 8, 1980, I wrote a letter, and sent it registered mail return receipt, to Mr. Badea at the Romanian Embassy in Washington reminding him of the promises he had made and asking him again to intercede on Victor Stanciu's behalf. Again, I received no reply.

On May 19, 1980, I wrote a letter to Congressman Vanik asking him again for help in this matter (Exhibit I), to which I haven't received a reply as yet.

On May 27, 1980, I asked the office of Senator Metzenbaum again to intercede on Victor Stanciu's behalf (Exhibit J),and on May 29, 1980 I received a communication (Exhibit K) from Senator Metzenbaum informing me that he would contact the Romanian Ambassador, Ionescu, on Victor Stanciu's behalf.

On July 18, 1980, I received a letter from Senator Metzenbaum (Exhibit L) in which he informs me that the Romanian Ambassador in Washington, Honorable Nicolae Ionescu, claims that he did "not have enough data to provide" him (Senator Metzenbaum) "with a report concerning your sons and daughter". Senator Metzenbaum also sent me a letter from the Romanian Ambassador dated July 3, 1980, which substantiates the above quoted statement (Exhibit M).

PAGE FOUR

To my knowledge, Victor Stanciu has not been able to obtain the emigration application forms from the Romanian Government, and this fact is in complete conflict with 19 U.S.C. § 2432 (a) (1) which states:

"(a) To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights, and notwithstanding any other provision of law, on or after the January 3, 1975, products from any nonmarket economy country shall not be eligible to receive nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment), such country shall not participate in any program of the Government of the United State which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly, or indirectly, and the President of the United States shall not conclude any commercial agreement with any such country, during the period beginning with the date on which the President determines that such country -

(1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate."

Conclusion

On the basis of the above facts, the Romanian Government is not in compliance with the Freedom of Emigration in East-West Trade Act 19 U.S.C. § 2432 because (1) the Romanian authorities are refusing to issue the passport and other ancillary documentation to Victor Stanciu and his family and (2) the Romanian Ambassador, the Honorable Ionescu, denies that he has received the documentation on this case (Exhibit M), for which I have signed returned receipts from the Romanian Embassy.

EXHIBIT A

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, Romania
c/o Department of State
Washington, D.C.

April 30,1979

Mr. Virgil Stanciu

Dear Sir/~~Madam~~:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter/affidavit of support concerning the emigration of your cousin , Victor Stanciu and family from Romania.

Please read the paragraph(s) checked below for information in the case:

1. ☐ The Embassy has no record that your relative(s) or friend(s) has (have) visited this office expressing interest in emigration. If they wish to do so, they are welcome to come in for a preliminary interview to determine eligibility.

2. ☐ In order to see how we can be of assistance in this case, we are inviting your relative(s) to visit Embassy.

3. ☒ As the above person(s) is (are) not qualified or eligible to apply for U.S. immigrant visa(s), the Embassy cannot intervene on their behalf with appropriate Romanian authorities. If they obtain Romanian emigration passports on their own, we will see what can be done to help them in leaving Romania.

4. ☒ Your cousin Victor Stanciu last visited Embassy February 26 stating that he has not yet applied for Romanian passports. We told him to do so and when the family has passport we will help them in leaving Romania.

Sincerely yours,

Luciano Mangiafico
Consul of the United States
of America

EXHIBIT B

22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44116
May 15, 1979

Stimate Domnule Tanasescu,

Alaturat veti gasi o invitatie trimisa varului meu Victor Stanciu, si in conformitate cu discutia noastra din ianuarie va rog sa interveniti la forurile competente in legatura cu eliberarea pasapoartelor.

Va multumesc anticipat.

Cu Stima,

Virgil V. Stanciu

cc: Ministerul Afacerilor Interne
Sectia Pasapoarte
Sibiu, Jud. Sibiu
Romania

Ambasada Americana, Bucuresti

Victor Stanciu

EXHIBIT C

22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44116
June 7, 1979

Honrorable Ionescu Mihai
Romanian Embassy
1607 23rd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It was a pleasure meeting you in Cleveland on several occasions and as you indicated in our conversations, in case of need I should contact you, thus I am writing you this letter asking for your help in the matter of immigration of Victor Stanciu and his family.

Attached you will find a copy of a letter sent to Honorable Nicolae Nicolae and also a copy of an Invitation sent to the Romanian authorities and the Embassy in Washington. I would appreciate it very much if you could intercede with the passport office in connection with this matter.

I am looking forward to meeting you again and I thank you.

Sincerely,

Virgil Stanciu

Virgil V. Stanciu

VVS:dlg
Enclosure
cc: Honorable Nicolae Nicolae

EXHIBIT D

22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44114
June 7, 1979

Honorable Nicolae Nicolae
Ministerul De Externe
Bucuresti, Romania

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It has been some time since we last met and I hope that this letter will find you in good health. I understand that you were ill for awhile but now you are well and back to work.

If you recall in one of our conversations, I mentioned to you the situation of my first cousin, Victor Stanciu and his family concerning immigration to the United States. Attached you will find an Invitation sent to Victor and his family to be presented to the authorities in Romania.

I would appreciate it very much if you could intercede with the passport office in order to expedite the necessary exit papers for my cousin and his family.

Please give my regards to your wife and to Mr. Capatina.

Sincerely,

Virgil Stanciu

Virgil V. Stanciu

VVS:dlg
Enclosure
cc: Honorable Ionescu Mihai

EXHIBIT E.

TEMPCRAFT
TOOL & MOLD, INC.

June 20, 1979

Senator Metzenbaum
United States Sentate
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a press release dated June 14, 1979 concerning the hearings schedule for Friday, June 22, 1979. I understand that this is a very short notice, however, if at all possible, I would appreciate it if you could intercede with the Romanian Ambassador on behalf of Victor Stanciu and his family who are trying to immigrate to the United States.

It is my understanding from the Trade Act of 1974 § 402 that the Most Favorite Nation status is granted on the basis of freedom of immigration that the Romanian authorities must observe.

I have spoken with several people at the Romanian Embassy about the case and it seems that things are not moving very well.

Sincerely,

TEMPCRAFT TOOL & MOLD, INC.

V. Stanciu

Virgil V. Stanciu
Executive Vice President

VVS:dlg
cc: Hon. Ionescu Mihai

[illegible] SOUTH MARGINAL ROAD
CLEVELAND, OHIO [illegible]
PHONE [illegible] · AREA CODE 216

EXHIBIT F

TEMPCRAFT
TOOL & MOLD, INC.

June 20, 1979

Chairman Charles A. Vanik
Subcommittee on Ways and Means
1102 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a press release dated June 14, 1979 concerning the hearings schedule for Friday, June 22, 1979. I understand that this is a very short notice, however, if at all possible, I would appreciate it if you could intercede with the Romanian Ambassador on behalf of Victor Stanciu and his family who are trying to immigrate to the United States.

It is my understanding from the Trade Act of 1974 § 402 that the Most Favorite Nation status is granted on the basis of freedom of immigration that the Romanian authorities must observe.

I have spoken with several people at the Romanian Embassy about the case and it seems that things are not moving very well.

Sincerely,

TEMPCRAFT TOOL & MOLD, INC.

V. Stanciu

Virgil V. Stanciu
Executive Vice President

VVS:dlg
cc: Hon. Ionescu Mihai

EXHIBIT G

TEMPCRAFT
TOOL & MOLD, INC.

June 29, 1979

United States Congress

Senator Vanik
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Vanik:

Further to my letter concerning the immigration of Victor Stanciu and his family from Romania, I am pleased to inform you that upon a telephone conversation with Mr. Bader from the Romanian Embassy, he assured me that they will expedite the immigration formalities in the very near future. I am, therefore, asking you to support President Carter's recommendation of the Most Favorite Nation status to Romania.

Sincerely,

TEMPCRAFT TOOL & MOLD, INC.

Virgil V. Stanciu
Executive Vice President

VVS:dlg
cc: Ambassador Ionescu
Mr. Bader

EXHIBIT H

TEMPCRAFT
TOOL & MOLD, INC.

June 29, 1979

Senator Metzenbaum
United States Senate
Washington, DC. 20510

Dear Senator Metzenbaum:

Further to my letter concerning the immigration of Victor Stanciu and his family from Romania, I am pleased to inform you that upon a telephone conversation with Mr. Badea from the Romanian Embassy, he assured me that they will expedite the immigration formalities in the very near future. I am, therefore, asking you to support President Carter's recommendation of the Most Favorite Nation status to Romania.

Sincerely,

TEMPCRAFT TOOL & MOLD, INC.

Virgil V. Stanciu
Executive Vice President

VVS:dlg
cc: Ambassador Ionescu
Mr. Badea

EXHIBIT I

Virgil V. Stanciu
22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44116
May 19, 1980

Honorable Congressman Charles Vanik
Chairman of the Subcommittee on Trade
House Ways and Means Committee
2107 Rayburn Blvd.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am grateful for your help thus far in the emigration case of my cousin and his family (Victor Stanciu, his wife Versavia, his sons Gheorghe and Liviu, and his daughter Maria), currently residing at Com, Arpasul De Jos, No. 47, Jud. Sibiu 2406 Romania.

They have been trying to emigrate from Romania since 1978; and in accordance with the Freedom of Emigration Requirement, Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, basic freedom of emigration is required in order for continuation of the Most Favorite Nation Status for Romania.

On June 29, 1979, I wrote you a note concerning the promises made by the Romanian Embassy, a copy of which is attached, in which they assured me that their emigration formalities will be taken care of. Obviously, almost a year later nothing has been done; and in accordance with my telephone conversations with your staff, I am again asking you to intercede in this matter.

I would appreciate more information on the hearing that will be held in connection with the Most Favorite Nation Status for Romania; and also, if necessary, I would like to testify in this matter.

Sincerely,

Virgil Stanciu
Virgil V. Stanciu

cc: Honorable Nicolaie Ionescu
Romanian Ambassador
Mr. David Rohr - Trade Subcommittee
VVS:pg

Attachment

EXHIBIT J

Mr. Virgil V. Stanciu
22085 Hilliard Blvd.
Rocky River, Ohio 44116
May 27, 1980

Mr. John Staursky
Special Assistant
347 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear John,

I am writing this letter on behalf of my cousin, Victor Stanciu, his wife Versavia, his sons Gheorghe and Liviu, and his daughter Maria, currently residing at Com, Arpasul De Jos, No. 47, Jud. Sibiu 2406 Romania.

They have been trying to emigrate from Romania since 1978: and in accordance with the Freedom of Emigration Requirement, Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, basic freedom of emigration is required in order for continuation of the Most Favorite Nation Status for Romania.

In early June, 1979 I had a conversation with Mr. Badea of the Romanian Embassy in Washington in which he promised that he would take care of matters immediately. Obviously, this has not happened and the matter is still not resolved. Consequently, I am asking you to intercede with Senator Metzenbaum, and any other authority that may be helpful in this case.

Sincerely,

Virgil Stanciu

Virgil V. Stanciu

VVS:pg

cc: Honorable Nicolaie Ionescu
Romanian Ambassador

Attachment

EXHIBIT K.

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 29, 1980

Mr. Virgil V. Stanciu
22085 Hilliard Boulevard
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

Dear Mr. Stanciu:

Thank you for your letter of the 27th concerning your relatives in Romania who would like to come to the United States.

A member of my staff has learned that Mr. Badea of the Romanian Embassy has returned to Bucharest. I am going to let Ambassador Ionescu know of my interest in the Stanciu family being granted permission to leave Romania. Also, I will ask American Ambassador Rudolph Aggrey to follow up with governmental officials at Bucharest and see what he can do to assist.

I hope this will be helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

Howard M. Metzenbaum

Howard M. Metzenbaum
United States Senator

HMM:DS

EXHIBIT L

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 9, 1980

Mr. Virgil V. Stanciu
22085 Hilliard Boulevard
Rocky River, Ohio 44116

Dear Mr. Stanciu:

Recently I received a letter from the Romanian Ambassador concerning a number of people about whom I had made inquiries. Included was a notation that officials do not have enough data to provide me with a report concerning your sons and daughter. I had indicated an address of Com, Arpasul De Jos. No. 47, Jud. Sibiu 2406, Romania.

Certainly I will be glad to pursue the matter if you can provide me with more information, including whether the address is correct, and possibly where the application was submitted.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Very sincerely yours,

Howard M. Metzenbaum

Howard M. Metzenbaum
United States Senator

HMM:DS

EXHIBIT M

EMBASSY OF THE
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
WASHINGTON. D. C.

July 3, 198o

The Honorable
Howard M. Metzenbaum
U.S. Senator
[illegible] Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 2o51o

My dear Senator Metzenbaum:

Answering to your letter regarding the emigration cases, I would like to inform you the following:

- [illegible]	- has received the approval to leave the country
- [illegible] with wife	- their request to leave the country is under positive consideration
- [illegible] with wife	- their request to leave the country is under positive consideration
- [illegible]	- has received the approval to leave the country
- [illegible]	- her request to leave the country is under positive consideration

- KOST ANTON with wife	- they did not request to leave the country
- WALBRUG MIHAI with wife	- they did not request to leave the country
- SCHUCH NICOLAUS	- he did not request to leave the country
ADAM DOINA	- has received the consent to marry with the American citizen

As for the other cases in your list

- HAIDU TEODOR with wife
- MOLDOVAN MARIA
- RICHTER HERMAN with wife
- SILACHI TEOPHILE
- ✓ STANCIU VICTOR with wife
- VISAN ADRIAN
- ADAM GABRIEL
- AVRAM IORDAN
- CAROLI TRAIAN
- GHEORGHIU DAN with wife
- KAN [illegible]

they could not be identified lacking sufficient data.

Please send us all the data you have at your disposal about the above-mentioned cases.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Nicolae Ionescu
Ambassador

FROM:
PETRU AZAMFIR
1706 WOODBINE St # 2
Phone(212)456-7094
US RESIDENT

TO:
MrMICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
Room 2227,DSOB
US SENATE 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, PETRU AZAMFIR, of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:
"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN; OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE ORAL HEARING OF US SENATE OF JULY 21,1980 ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON- VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR(THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY2[redacted]THAT MY CASE OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE FLOOR AT THE ABOVE MENTIONED HEARING BY Dr. DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU,PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
PETRU AZAMFIR
Azamfir Petru

FROM:
Mrs ARIANA LIGIA BARBU
62-11,43rd Av # 3
WOODSIDE, NY11377
Phone(212) 426-5528
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, ARIANA LIGIA BARBU of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser,participent and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- Please, that my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION' sCLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ARIANA LIGIA BARBU

Ariana Ligia Barbu

FROM:
Miss ROXANA BADESCU
32-14, 29th St # 3
ASTORIA, NY 11106
Phone(212) 626-4755
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20 510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, ROXANA BADESCU, ROMANIAN bron and PERMANENT RESIDENT of the USA, participANT TO : "THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA(APRIL 24, 1980-MAY 30, 1980).-

1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21, 1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.

2.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPERATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON THE US SENATE FLOOR AT THE ABOVE MENTIONED US SENATE HEARING, BY DR DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, Organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS

Thank you.

Sincerely yours
ROXANA BADESCU

Roxana Badescu

FROM:
Mr CONSTANTIN BARSU
45-36,44th St # 1
SUNNYSIDE,NY 11104
POLITICAL REFUGEE

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, CONSTANTIN BARSU, ROMANIAN born and POLITICAL REFUGEE in the USA, participant to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNST ROMANIA(APRIL24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please, to accept that my written testimony to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on MFN TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

2.- Please,that my case to be presented on the US SENATE floor at the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING, by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT,AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUAMN RIGHTS, organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you,

Sincerely youre,
CONSTANTIN BARSU
Constantin Barsu

FROM:
Mrs ANETA CARABELAIAN
41-22,42nd St # 3 G
SUNNYSIDE, NY 11104
Phone(212)535-7780 Office
Phone(212) 361-1465 Residence
US CITIZEN in 1980

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned ANETA CARABELAIAN of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR:THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHERAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES H STAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,"(APRIL 24.1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please to register me to the ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

I wish to present on the US SENATE FLOOR, my STILL UNRESOLVED CASE OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ANETA CARABELAIAN

FROM:
Mrs ATENA CHIU
42-41,64thSt
Woodside, NY 11377
Phone(212)446-1018
US CITIZEN in OCTOBER 1980

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigend, ATENA CHIU, ROMANIAN born and US CITIZEN on OCTOBER 1980(my application for being on the legal proceeding for) participant to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case to be presented to the oral HEARING OF US SENATE OF JULY 21,1980 ,on MFN TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,by Dr DIMITRIE G.APOSTOLIU,PRESIDENT, AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS

2.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ATENA CHIU
Atena Chiu

FROM:
Mr GHIOCEL IONEL CONSTANTINESCU
32-43, 32nd St, ASTORIA,NY 11106
Phone(212) 721-9611
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I,the undersigned, engineer GHIOCEL IONEL CONSTANTINESCU of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and a PERMANENT RESIDENT OF THE USA,participent to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF: 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA and FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" started on APRIL 24,1980 in front of the UN in NEW YORK CITY, moved in front of IRANIAN and ROMANIAN MISSIONS TO THE UN in NEW YORK CITY too and continued in WASHINGTON D.C. since APRIL 28,1980 until MAY 30,1980,-

-1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMNET AND TO GRANT THE M.F.N FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA(THE US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980)

2.- Please, that my case to be supported on the US SENATE floor at the above mentioned HEARING, by Dr DIMITRIE G.APOSTOLIU,PRESIDENT of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, the organiser, participent and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you,.

Sincerely yours,

GHIOCEL IONEL CONSTANTINESCU

FROM:.... ....
Mrs MARIA DINU
43-40, 40th St
SUNNYSIDE, N.Y. 11104
Phone(212)729-1758
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
WASHINGTON D.C 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, MARIA DINU of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to :" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, of OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" *(APRIL 24, 1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented to the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2,- Please, that my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,-to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
MARIA DINU

Maria Dinu

FROM:
Mr ILIE DROGANICI
21-34,45th Road # 42
LIC, NY 11101
Phone(212)729-6704

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, ILIE DROGANICI of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to: " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 by:Dr DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT of "THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",-organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- Please, that my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATIO TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,-to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 .-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ILIE DROGANICI.
Ilie Droganici

FROM:
Mrs GABRIELA IONITA
43-25,44th St # B 2
SUNNYSIDE, NY 11104
Phone(212)786-8076
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, GABRIELA IONITA of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to :"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 28,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENA TE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JAKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.-

2.- Please that my unresolved case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE ORAL HEARING ABOVE MENTIONED, BY: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU(COSTIN JURBA) PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- [illegible] participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GABRIELA IONITA
Gabriela Ionita

FROM:
Mr ION LISCA
PO BOX 18 RT 100
SOMERS,NY 10589
Phone(914)232-9846
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, ION LISCA of SOMERS,NY.,ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FA MILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE FLOOR AT THE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR,- by Dr DIMITRIE C APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" and organizer, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please that my written statement about to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours
ION LISCA
Ioan Lisca

FROM:
Mr ADRIAN MUTICA
319 East 95th St # 12 A
NEW YORK CITY, NY 10028
Phone(212) 876-9517
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, ADRIAN MUTICA of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980,on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVERED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR

2.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON THE ORAL US SENATE HEARING ABOVE MENTIONED BY : Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS", organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ADRIAN MUTICA.

Adrian Mutica

FROM:
Mr GABRIEL PORA
28-04 ,33rd Av # 4
ASTORIA,NY. 11106
Phone(212)626-9578
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned GABRIEL PORA, ROMANIAN born and a PERMANENT RESIDENT of the USA, participant to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"(APRIL 24,1980- MAY 30,198o)

1.- Please accept that my written statement to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 OF WAIVE THE JACKSON VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT AGAIN THE MOST FAVORED NATION'S CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.

2.- I AM ASKING THAT MY WRITTEN TESTIMONY AND MY CASE TO BE PRESENTED TO THE ORAL HEARING BY Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU,PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GABRIEL PORA
Gabriel Pora

FROM:
Mr GABRIEL PREDA
47-52, 44th St # C11
SUNNYSIDE, LIC 11377
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, GABRIEL PREDA of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to; "THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented on US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE HENRY-JACKSON-CHARLES VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA-by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERIVAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please that my written statement on this matter to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GABRIEL PREDA

Gabriel Preda

FROM:
Mr VASILE SREDOJEV
691-10th Ave # 4
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK 10036
Phone(212)765-1171
US CITIZEN in 1980

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, VASILE SREDOJEV of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.-Please, that my written statement on this matter to be prirted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of US SENATE HEARING of JULY 21,1980, on: THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
VASILE SREDOJEV
V. Sredojev

FROM:
Mr AUREL STRECHE
45-59.45th St # 2D
WOODSIDE,NY 11377
Phone(212)937-9125
PERMANENT RESIDENT

To:
MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
#2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I the undersigned, AUREL STRECHE of NEW YORK, Permananet Resident of the USA, ROMANIAN born and participant to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR:THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,"-

-.1 Please to accept that my written testimony to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF U.S. SENATE HEARING ON M.F.N. TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, OF JULY 21,1980.-

-.2. Please, that my case to be presented on the SENATE floor by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, the organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
AUREL STRECHE
Aurel Streche

FROM:
NICOLAE DRAGHICEANU
32-32, 30Th ST # 6
ASTORIA, NY. 11106
Phone(212) 726-4617
POLITICAL REFUGEE

TO:
MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, NICOLAE DRAGHICEANU, ROMANIAN born, participant to THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"
1.- PLease to accept that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE ORAL HEARING OF US SENATE OF JULY21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MFN TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.
2.- Please, that my case to be presented to the above mentioned ORAL HEARING OF US SENATE by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.
Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
NICOLAE DRAGHICEANU
Nicolae Draghiceanu

FROM:
ION STOICA
13-17, 46th st # 6 W
LIC NY 11104
Phone(212) 424-8496
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned ION STOICA of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA " (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my writen statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

2.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION which is still unresolved,- to be presented at THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS", organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
ION STOICA

FROM:
Mr VALERIU VISA
17-12, Woodbine Ave # 2
RIDGEWOOD, NY 11385
Phone(212) 497-3493
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, VALERIU VISA of NEW YORK CITY, ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by : Dr. DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- That my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR,- to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING in this matter.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
VALERIU VISA
Valeriu Visa

FROM:
Mrs ANA ARCAN
1530 West WELLINGTON
CHICAGO,ILL,60614
Phone(312)871-2308
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
#2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I,the undersigned ANA ARCAN of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participent to:

"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"-(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 ,on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.(ThePRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980)

2.- PLEASE, THAT MY CASE TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE FLOOR AT THE ABOVE MENTIONED HEARING BY Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU,ORGANISER,PARTICIPANT AND SPOKESMAN OF HUNGER STRIKERS.

THANK YOU.

SINCERELY YOURS,
ANA ARCAN
Ana Arcan

FROM:
CORNEL BARBAROSIE
46-30 NORTH MONTICELLO# 3W
CHICAGO,ILL,60625
Phone(312)267-6547
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
Room 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I,the undersigned, CORNEL BARBAROSIE OF CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to:

"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980, TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR.

2.- PLEASE, THAT MY [redacted] [redacted] FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE FLOOR AT THE ABOVE MENTIONED HEARING,BY Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
CORNEL BARBAROSIE

Cornel Barbarosie

FROM:
GHEORGHE BRANDUSESCU
50-13 WEST 159th St # 8
OAK FOREST
ILLINOIS 60452
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20.510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, GHEORGHE BRANDUSESCU, of OAK FOREST, ILLINOIS, ROMANIAN born and participant to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980- MAY 30,1980).-

1.-Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON US SENATE [redacted] OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980, TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION"s CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,-BY Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND ORGANISER PARTICIPANT AND SPOKESMAN OF HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- PLEASE ACCEPT THAT MY WRITTEN STATEMENT TO BE PRINTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED US SENATE ORAL HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GHEORGHE BRANDUSESCU

Georghe Brandusescu

FROM:
IERONIM CERBU
1521 WEST FOSTER# 428
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60640
Phone(312)728-4337
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, IERONIM CERBU of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to :

" THE [illegible] ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-,

1.- Please to accept that my written statement to be presented on US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR [illegible] YEAR,- BY Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please, to accept that my written statement about my FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION's case, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE ORAL HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours
IERONIM CERBU

Ieronim Cerbu

FROM:
Mr PETRU FAUR
61-64, NORTH WITHROB
CHICAGO, ILL 60660
Phone(312) 973-)242
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB .U.S.SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, PETRU FAUR of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to:

"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPA RATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED TO THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980, TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR,-by Dr DIMITRIE C APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"- organiser, participant and spokesman OF HUNGER STRIKERS.

[illegible] Please, that my written statement on this matter to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE ORAL HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
PETRU FAUR

FROM:
Mr.VICTOR FLESERIU
3003 NORTH ASHLAND
CHICAGO,ILL,60657
Phone(312)871-2308

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, VICTOR FLESERIU, of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and particiment to:

" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, and to be presented to the above mentioned US SENATE ORAL HEARING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR,- by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF"THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS", organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours
VICTOR FLESERIU

Victor Fleseriu

FROM: ....
Mr ION IONESCU
3003 N.ASHLAND
CHICAGO,ILL,60657
Phone(312)871-2308
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
ROOM 2228 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I,the undersigned, ION IONESCU of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN Born and participant to ; " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR:THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN [redacted]RAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my written statement to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE [redacted]ING OF JULY 21,1980, on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR (THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980)

2.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPAR[redacted] FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED TO THE ORAL HEARING OF US SENATE ABOVE MENTIONED BY: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU,PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",-the orgaiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

Thank you,

Sincerely yours,
ION IONESCU
Ion Ionescu

FROM:
MIRCEA MARTIN
24-22 NORTH KOSTNER # 1
CHICAGO,ILL,60639
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, MIRCEA MARTIN of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to:" THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO BE PRESENTED ON THE SENATE FLOOR AT THE US SENATE HEARING OF JULY 21, 1980, by DrDIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS", organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- PLEASE THAT MY WRITTEN STATEMENT TO BE PRINTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED US SENATE HEARING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
MIRCEA MARTIN
Mircea Martin

FROM:
Mr EMANUEL NEGREANU
1500 WEST ADISON
CHICAGO,ILL,60640
Phone(312)876-9517
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, **EMANUEL NEGREANU** of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to; "THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKEFOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"(APRIL 24,11980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented on the US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA-by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF "THE AMERICAN -ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEFOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- Please, that my written statement to be printed in the above mentioned US SENATE' HEARING's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
EMANUEL NEGREANU

Emanuel Negreanu

FROM:
Mr GHEORGHE NEGUT
1521 WEST FOSTERAv # 428
CHICAGO,ILL, 60640
Phone(312) 728-4337
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, GHEORGHE NEGUT, of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to: " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN AND OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO be presented to the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DUMITRU G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please, that my written statement on this matter to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE above mentioned US SENATE HEARING.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GHEORGHE NEGUT
Gheorghe Negut

FROM:
MR DIMITRIE POP....
47-16, NORTH RACINE
CHICAGO, ILL,60640
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, DIMITRIE POP,of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to; " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.-Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented on US SENATE FLOOR AT THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980,- by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF"THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",-organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please that my written statement on the matter of THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE THE HENRY-JACKSON-CHARLES VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT FOR ONE MORE YEAR THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,-to be printed in the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
DIMITRIE POP.
Dimitrie Pop

FROM:
Mr GAVRIL POTRA
1530 WEST WELLINGTON
CHICAGO,ILL 60614
Phone(312)871-2308
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSCB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned GAVRIL POTRA of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to: " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HODTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my written statement on my FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of US SENAT HEARING of JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION TO WAIVE T THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

2.- Please that my case to be presented to the above mentionedORAL HEARING OF US SENATE, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF"THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
GAVRIL POTRA
Gabriel Potra

FROM:
Mr MIRCEA SERBAN
4707 West 12th Pl
CICERO.ILL. 60650
Phone(312) 863-8132
PERMANENT RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 2o510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned MIRCEA SERBAN of CICERO, ILLINOIS, ROMANIAN born and participant to; " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN AND OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980 on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMANDATION TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,- by Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF"THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS

2.- Please that my written statement on the matter to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE's HEARING.

Thank you

Sincerely yours,
MIRCEA SERBAN
Mircea A Serban

FROM:
Mr MATEI & Mrs ECATERINA CARACAOANCEA
6216 Beverly Drive PARMA Hghts
CLEVELAND, OHIO, 44130
Phone(216) 651-8465
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

We the undersigned, MATEI & ECATERINA CARACAOANCEA of CLEVELAND, ROMANIANS born and participant to: " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOAMTS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA",

- ARE ASKING THAT:

1.- OUR CASE OF FORCED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organizer, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Our written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR- to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENAT HEARING on the matter.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
MATEI CARACAOANCEA

ECATERINA CARACAOANCEA

FROM:
MIRCEA TATAR
15-21,WEST FOSTERN # 245
CHICAGO,ILLINOIS 60640
Phone(312) 989-8831
US RESIDENT

To:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20.510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, MIRCEA TATAR of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to:"THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,- (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2,.- That my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA- tp be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING in the matter.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
MIRCEA TATAR

Mircea Tatar

FROM:
ROMICA TREMURICI
46-30 NORTH MONTICELLO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60625
Phone(312)588-6594
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN,
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned ROMICA TREMURICI of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to: " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA(APRIL 24,1980-MAY 10,198o),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- That my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON & VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION'S CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR- to be printed in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING On this matter.-

Thank you

Sincerely yours,
ROMICA TREMURICI
Romică Tremurici

FROM:
Mr EMIL COSMI
Mr IONEL COSMI
Mr TITU COSMI
[redacted] GLENWOOD # 3 S
CHICAGO-ILLINOIS,60640
(312)989-4530
US RESIDENTS

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM-2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

WE, the undersigned EMIL COSMI, IONEL COSMI, AND TITU COSMI, brothers, residing in CHICAGO, and ROMANIANS born, participants to : "THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR : THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,",-

1.- Please that our cases of FORCED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING of JULY 24,1980 ,- by: Dr DIMITRIE C APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" - organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- That our written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION of MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR ONE MORE YEAR- to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING in this matter.-

Thank you.

EMIL COSMI Emil Cosmi
IONEL COSMI Ionel Cosmi
TITU COSMI Titu Cosmi

FROM:.....
Mr VIOREL BOT
46-30 NORTH MONTICELLO
CHICAGO,ILLINOIS 60625
Phone(312) 588-694
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, VIOREL BOT, of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN born and participant to " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 30,1980).-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at the US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 24,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN -ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.-

2.- That my written statement on THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980 TO WAIVE THE JACKSON -VANIK AMENDMENT AND TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION' s CLAUSE FOR ONE MORE YEAR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA - to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the above mentioned US SENATE HEARING in the matter.-

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
VIOREL BOT
Viorel Bot

FROM:
Mr VIOREL STIRBU
3309 IRVING PARK WEST
CHICAGO.ILLINOIS,60618
Phone(312)588-7527
US RESIDENT

TO:
Mr MICHAEL STERN
STAFF DIRECTOR
ROOM 2227 DSOB
US SENATE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20510

Dear Mr MICHAEL STERN,

I, the undersigned, VIOREL STIRBU of CHICAGO, ROMANIAN Born and participant to; "THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN,OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" (APRIL 24,1980-MAY 20,198o),-

1.- Please that my case of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIFICATION to be presented at THE US SENATE ORAL HEARING OF JULY 21,1980, by: Dr DIMITRIE G APOSTOLIU, PRESIDENT OF " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS",- organiser, participant and spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS.

2.- Please that my written statement on this matter to be printed in the above mentioned US SENATE HEARIG's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thank you.

Sincerely youre
VIOREL STIRBU

Stirbu Viorel

TESTIMONY OF
MARTIN F. YTUARTE,
Executive Vice President
Prudential Lines, Inc.
Before The International Trade Subcommittee Of The
Senate Finance Committee

This testimony is given in support of a waiver extension of Most Favored Nation Status to the Socialist Republic of Romania under the Trade Act of 1974, (Pub. L 93-618, Jan. 3, 1975, 88 Stat. 1978), as granted under Presidential Proclamation No. 4369, (Apr. 24, 1975, 40 F.R. 18389).

Since October 1, 1974, Prudential Lines, Inc. has been carrying cargo East and Westbound between the U.S. and Romania under very good relations. In 1979, the principal cargo carried by Prudential from Romania to the United States were petrochemical products, machinery and tools, wood, glass and consumer products. From the United States to Romania, the main items of cargo carried by Prudential in 1979 were chemical woodpulp commodities, raw cotton, food preparations, machinery and equipment.

The U.S. Department of Commerce Foreign Trade Statistics indicates that of the approximately 832 million dollars of goods traded between the United States and Romania in 1979, the United States recognized a favorable trade surplus, having exported approximately $500 million in goods to approximately $332 million imported.

The trend of Prudential's business with Romania has significantly increased over the last three years. Total Prudential revenue from cargo shipped during that period was:

1977 - $4,518,000
1978 - $7,405,000
1979 - $7,041,000

For the January to May period of 1980, shipments on a annualized basis equal $11,220,000. Most favored Nation status is clearly responsible for such a good trade showing and is necessary for continuance of such a favorable trade picture.

Prudential's relations with Romania have been excellent both on a governmental and business level. Prudential has established offices in Bucharest as well as Constanza with the assistance of the Romanian government. Prudential has also employed Romanian citizens at both offices with very good results.

Prudential currently enjoys contractual arrangements with Navlomar, the Romanian agency designating the latter as Prudential's official agent for Prudential's shipping activities in Romania. Similarly arrangements exist with Romtrans, the Romanian trucking agency to handle inland shipments. Chartering arrangements also exist with Navlomar whereby Prudential is acting as Navlomar's chartering broker in the New York area. These relationships have proceeded in an excellent business like fashion.

In addition, and in support of Prudential's shipping activities in Romania, Prudential has invested several million dollars of capital for equipment in Romania, including tugboat, tractors, and chassis and is currently negotiating for additional terminal equipment.

It is Prudential's position that the Most Favored Nation Status for Romania should continue as it clearly is in furtherance of the purposes of the Trade Act of 1974. To paraphrase a portion of the Act as to its purposes:

1. to foster economic growth ... and strenghten economic relations between the United Stated and foreign countries through open and non-discriminatory world trade;

2. to harmonize, reduce and eliminate barriers to trade ...;

3. to establish fairness and equity in international trading relations...

Thank you.

Martin F. Ytuarte

JCB/mj

July 21, 1980

33583(7-17)

* * *

STATEMENT OF DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU
PRESIDENT
THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

* * *

" GOD MADE MAN TO BE FREE"
(MATHEUS)

* * *

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Art 13
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2.-Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

* * *

THERE IS NO POWER ON THE WORLD WHICH CAN STOP THE WISH OF FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE!
(SLOGAN OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION)

* * *

THERE IS NO POWER ON THE WORLD WHICH CAN STOP THE HUNGER STRIKERS TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES!
(DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU,spokesman of HUNGER STRIKERS)

* * *

WE WANT OUR FAMILIES,FREE,NOW!
WE WANT OUR CHILDREN FREE, NOW!
NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, SET FREE THE HOSTAGES, NOW!
(THE HUNGER STRIKERS)

* * *

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN,HONORABLE SENATORS,

* * *

As president of THE AMERICAN -ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,as spokesman of " THE TENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN,IRAN, OF OUR FAMILIES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIAAND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA-started on APRIL 24,1980 in front of UN in NEW YORK CITY moved in front of IRANIAN and ROMANIAN MISSIONS TO THE UN,inNEW YORK too and continued in WASHINGTON D.C. since APRIL 28,1980-MAY 30,1980,- and more than that,- as an HONEST US CITIZEN, there is my duty to combat THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION of MAY 28,1980, TO WAIVE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT and TO GRANT THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA -I quoted-"FOR THE SO CALLED INCREASE OF EMIGRATION REPORTED TO THE FIGURES OF 1974" and..."FOR NICOLAE CEAUSESCU's INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW AND "PRO WESTERN POSITION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS" NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, THE FORMER APPRENTICE-SHOEMAKER,TRAITOR OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE AND BREZHNEV's UNDERDOG, IN HIS TOTALE CONTEMPT OF THE USA,OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ,OF AMERICAN PEOPLE's ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES -ONLY ONE DAY BEFORE THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HEARING OF JUNE 1o,1980 WHERE ROMANIA's " HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD" WAS THE ONE TO BE ANALISED - SIGNED UP WITH AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI THE TRADE AGREEMENT TO COUNTER JIMMY CARTER's ACTION OF IRANIAN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC's ECONOMICAL BLOCKADE UNTIL THE 53 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN WILL BE SET FREE! THE NEW YORK TIMES OF JUNE 1o,1980 REPORTED ABOUT THIS NICOLAE CEAUSESCU's FULL SUPPORT OF IRANIAN TERRORISTS!...

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN,HONORABLE SENATORS,

* * *

IN THE NAME OF HUNGER STRIKERS WHO ARE ON THE MAIN DOOR OF DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING-LOCKED THEM SELVES IN CHAINES AND BLINFOLDED AS OUR REMAINDED 52 AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HOSTAGES ARE IN TEHRAN,IRAN, I ASKED THAT YOU DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE THE MOST FAVORED NATION's

CLAUSE TO THIS SUPPORTER OF IRANIAN TERRORISTS AND CRIMINAL AGAINST HUMANITY CALLED NICOLAE CEAUSESCU!
WE DO NOT HAVE TO FEED WITH AMERICAN TAXPAYERS MONEY-VIA NICOLAE CEAUSESCU -THE IRANIAN TERRORISTS WHO DID FROM A YOUNG AND TALENTED US DIPLOMAT-RICHARD QUEEN- "GUILTY"OF GIVING TO TAUSENDS YOUN IRANIANS THE OPPOTUNITY TO DO THEIR ACADEMIC EDUCATION IN USA'sUNIVERSITIES- A SHADOW OF HUMAN BEING SUFFERING BY MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS BECAUSE OF " THE HUMANITARIAN TREATEMENT BY IRANIANS TERRORISTS TRAINED IN USSR"!

* * *

NOW,LET'S SEE WHAT IS THE TRUE ABOUT THE SO CALLED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION OF MAY 28,1980,-I QUOTED:"INCREASE IN EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIT ROMANIA,REPORTED TO THE FIGURES OF 1974:

- SINCE MAY 17,1975 toDATE, OUR AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,ORGANISED "ONLY"TEN ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKES FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE US AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA!...

-IN THE FIRST ONE(MAY 17,1975-JULY 17,1975)WERE INVOLVED AND MrsPAULINE DINN,MD AND MrFLORIN CARMOCANU,BOTH OF NEW YORK CITY.
THE RESULTS OF THEIR HOSTAGE RELATIVES APPLICATIONS FOR EXIT VISAS WERE NOTIFIED TO CLAIMANTS AFTER U.S.GRANTED NICOLAE CEAUSESCU WITH THE M.F.N. WITH GERALD FORD's PRESIDENTIAL RECOMANDATION EDITED BY HENRY KISSINGER ,SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE USA AT THAT TIME...
WHAT IT WAS?FROM Mrs PAULINE DINN, ONLY ONE HOSTAGE WAS RELEASED:HER SON.THE OTHER SEVEN ARE STILL HOSTAGES OVER THERE SINCE 1975!...
FROM Mr FLORIN CARMOCANU,ONLY HIS WIFE AND LITTLE SON WERE RELEASE. OTHER 11 WERE STILL HOSTAGES. BUT THIS NUMBER DIMINUED. UNFORTUNATELY: Mr PAUL CARMOCANU,24 A TALENTED LAW STUDENT EXPELLED FROM BUCHAREST COLLEGE OF LAW WHEN APPLIED FOR EMIGRATION, HAS HIS APPLICATION FOR US REJECTED. BUT, ANOTHER ONE, FOR COMMUNIST BULGARIA, AN EXCURSION BY CAR WITH FRIENDS, APPROVED. POOR PAUL LEFT FOR BULGARIA WITH HIS FRIENDS, WITH LEGAL PASSPORTS, BY CAR.
BUT THE ROMANIAN SECURITY(SECRET POLICE OF USSR"sKGB TYPE) FELLOW HIM AND, ON OCTOBER 31,1975, TOGETHER WITH BULGARIAN SECURITY(BULGARIAN SIDE OF USSR"sKGB)SHOTED ALL OF THEM TO DEATH, BY MACHINEGUNG AND RIFFLES. ONLY ONE SURVIVED TO THE ATTACK WHICH OCCURED ON THE SO CALLED" LAND OF NOBODY" BETWEEN THE BORDERS OF ROMANIA AND BULGARIA!...
NOW MrFLORIN CARMOCANU OF NEW YORK HAS "ONLY" RELATIVES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA!

-NICOLAE CEAUSESCU's STALINIST STRATEGIE WAS AND STILL IS: TO RELEASE SOME HOSTAGE RELATIVES BETWEEN THE HEARING ON MFN OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE US SENATE ONE. AFTER GRANTED WITH THE MFN,HE START AGAIN SECURITY'sTERROR AGAINST HOSTAGE RELATIVES OF US CITIZENS AND US RESIDENTS.LIVING OVER THERE AND WOULD BE EMIGRANTS IN ORDER TO REUNIFY THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES...

- On 1977, THREE YEARS AGO, Mrs VIORICA STANOJEV JOINED THE HUNGER STRIKE.NOW SHE IS INVOLVED IN THE" TENTH" ONE.WHY?BECAUSE FROM HER 11 HOSTAGE RELATIVES ONLY HER BROTHER,ION SITA WAS ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE HER PARENTS WER ARRESTED AND HARD BEATEN UP BY SECURITY "ONLY" FOUR TIMES.AND ONLY THE STRONG INTERVENTION OF THE HONORABLE SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON SUCCEDED TO RELEASE THEM FROM JAIL. BUT THEY ARE STILL HOSTAGES OVER THERE!

- Mrs ATENA CHIU OF NEW YORK,TRIED UNSUCCESFULY TO BRING HER HOSTAGE BROTHER AND HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER "ONLY" SINCE 1975too!

- Mrs EVA REITER,NATURALISED AS US CITIZEN SINCE 1973, TRIED TOO TO SAVE HER HOSTAGE RELATIVES "ONLY" SINCE A DECADE!...

- Mr engineer GHIOCEL IONEL CONSTANTINESCU of NEW YORK TRIED TO BRING OVER HERE HIS WIFE SINCE 1978. HER APPLICATIONS WERE REJECTED TWICE. THE LAST REJECTION IS OF MAY 1980.ON JULY 13,1980 A MILITIA MAN TOGETHER A SECURITY OFFICER CAME OVER IN HER APPARTMENT,BROKE OUT HER DRESS AND TRIED TO RAPE HER. THE POOR HELPLESS WOMEN FOUGHT THEM,CRY

FORTUNATELY THE NEIGHBORS COME OVER AND SAVE HER FROM RAPE! SHE WENT TO BUCHAREST's DISTRICT ATTORNEY, BUT THIS ONE REFUSE TO REGISTER HER CRIMINAL CHARGE AGAINST THE WOULD BE MILITIA AND SECURITY's RAPISTS, ON THE GROUND THAT "SHE IS THE WIFE OF SOMEBODY WHO LEFT ILLEGALLY COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND THAT HER SELF IN PERSUADING TO EMIGRATE TO THAT MAN HER LEGAL HUSBAND LIVING IN THE "IMPERIALISTIC USA!..."
ALL HOSTAGE RELATIVES OF US CITIZENS AND US RESIDENTS LIVING OVER THERE AND WOULD BE EMIGRANTS IN ORDER TO REUNIFY THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES, ARE-WITHOUT EXCEPTION -TREATENED WITH CONFINEMENT TO THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS ,ARE LAYD OFF FROM THEIR JOBS OR REMOVED FROM, ARE HUMILIATED, HARD BEATEN UP, TERRORISED. RECENTELY THE SECURITY INVENTED OTHER "STRATEGY": THE WOULD BE EMIGRANT IS CALLING UP TO THE SECURITY OFFICE AND INVESTIGATED UNDER HARD PRESSURE THE ALL NIGHT. IN THE MORNING HE OR SHE MUST REPORTED HIM OR HER ELF TO HIS OR HER JOB!
MrDWIGHT S. HARROWS, AN [illegible] IN PATERSON, NEW JERSEY, JOINED THE HUNGER STRIKE BECAUSE SINCE YEARS AGO TRIED UNSUCCESFUL TO BE REUNITED WITH HIS PARENTS AND BROTHERS, TIPRIGAN FAMILY OF SUCEAVA. ON 1979, HIS BROTHER HAS HIS APPLICATION AGAIN REJECTED AND HE WAS FORCED TO GO TO THE MILITARY DUTY. RELEASED FROM, HE CAN NOT FIND UP A JOB BECAUSE THE SECURITY IS WATCHING HIM AND IN GIVING ORDERS TO ALL STATE's COMPANY TO LET RADU TIPRIGAN DOWN. [illegible] SECURITY IS INSISTING THAT HE SING UP A STATEMENT OF "GIVE UP" HIS INTENTION TO EMIGRATE. BECAUSE HE REFUSED, WAS FINED TWICE WITH 1000 LEI AND THREATENED WITH CONVICTION FOR"PARAZITISM".
Mr TOADER TIPRIGAN(the father,58 years old)HAS A PENSION OF 800 LEI. HE WAS FINED TWICE WITH 1000LEI:FIRST BECAUSE BEING CALLED UP BY US CONSUL HE WENT IN BUCHAREST.SECOND...BECAUSE HE DID NOT ANNOCED THE SECURITY THAT HE WAS CALLED UP BY A FOREIGN DIPLOMAT!...
FROM THE PARTICIPANTS TO THIS HUNGER STRIKE STARTED IN NEW YORK CITY ON APRIL 24,1980 AND CONTINUED IN WASHINGTON DC SINCE APRIL 28,1980 UNTIL MAY 30,1980,AND NOW JULY 21,1980 RESTARTED IN WASHINGTON D.C.
-ONLY [illegible] TWO KIDS OF Mrs GABRIELA IONITA OF NEW YORK ARRIVED IN THE USA.HER MOTHER AND HER FIANCE Mr FLORIN DUMITRESCU of BUCHAREST ARE STILL HOSTAGES
- Mr AUREL STRECHE OF NEW YORK JOINED TO DATE THREE DIFFERENT HUNGER STRIKES FOR FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA, BUT HIS FIANCE EVA ANDRAS OF BRASOV AND HER DAUGHTER SIMONA SELARU ARE STILL HOSTAGES!...
-THE HUNGER STRIKER VIOREL STIRBU OF CHICAGO, HAS HIS FIANCE MARIA VALERIA DIRPES AND HER DAUGHTER ECATERINA IONICA MARISESCU OF ORSOVA STILL LAYD OFF FROM HER JOB AND WITHOUT PASSPORT...

***

WHAT IS DIFFERENT IN THIS HUNGER STRIKE IT IS THE FACT THAT:THE HUNGER STRIKERS FORM CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, CONTACTED PERMANENTELY THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON D.C. SINCE 1978-TWO YEARS!BY PHONE CALLES, BY LETTERS AND BY SENTING OVER EACH MONTHS ONE OF THEM,IN ORDER TO REUNIFY THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY PEACEFULLY,AND HONEST.WITHOUT ANY COMPROMISE. BUT THE AMBASSADOR NICOLAE IONESCU,AND CONSULS BADEA AND BADALICESCU PURPOSED TO MrMIRCEA SERBAN OF CHICAGO TO BUILT UP A RING OF SPIES NETWORK FOR USSR AND COMMUNIST ROMANIA WITH PERSONS WHO HAVE CASES OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION. MrMIRCEA SERBAN REFUSED! HIS WIFE WAS ARRESTED TORRTURED AND CONVICTED IN ROMANIA. HE APPEAL TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL WHICH IN INTERCEDING DIRECTELY WITH NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,OBTAINED Mrs SERBAN's AMNESTY. BUT SHE IS STILL HOSTAGE TOGETER HER KIDS

***

ON JULY 17,1980 I received the annexed copy of a desperate letter of one of the most talented ROMANIAN artist.The letter was smuggled from ROMANIA by a person of confidence.
THE SIGNATARE OF THIS LETTER SINCE 1978 APPEARS ON US SENATE ,US CONGRESS AND US DEPARTMENT OF STATE LISTS OF REPRESENTATIONS.

THE TESTIMONIES WERE PRINTED IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS. THE LAST ONE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF US SENATE's HEARING ON "MFN" TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA OF JULY 19,1979, page 241, position30.
MY NAME APPEARED REGULARY ON US CONGRESS COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPEAND ON ALL LISTS OF ROMANIAN HUNGERSTRIKES FOR FORCED FAMILIES REUNIFICATIONS IN THE USA AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

THE RESULTS

INSTEAD TO BE GRANTED WITH EXIT VISA,I WAS ARRESTED AGAIN.
...THERE WERE FIVE SECURITY's OFFICERS INVESTIGATORS.
THEY SHOWED TO ME A COPY OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.
THEY FORCED ME TO EAT THAT COPY UP!PAGE BY PAGE. THERE WERE 539 PAGES PLUS THE BOOK's JAKET IN GREEN COLOR!
AFTER I EATED A PAGE,EACH OF MY INVESTIGATORS GRANTED ME WITH A PAIR OF FITS AND THE ONE OF BOOTS! I WAS GRANTED WITH FITS AND BOOTS!
BUT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU WAS GRANTED BY THE US SENATE WITH THE -M.F.N!-..

DEAR Dr DIMITRIE G.APOSTOLIU,

MY SELF AND MY LOVELY FIANCE ROXANA BADESCU ARE FORCED SEPARATED SINCE 1977 BY THE TRAITOR OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,THE STALINIST TIRRANT OF HOSTAGE RELATIVES OF US CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS LIVING OVER THERE AND WOUL BE EMIGRANTS IN ORDER TO REUNIFY THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES IN THE USA OR TO GET MARRIED IN AMERICA TOO.
THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU IN HIS PROFESSIONAL QUALITY OF APPRENTICE SHOEMAKER IS SHYINING THE BOOTS OF BREZHNEV AND IS DESFYING THE US CONGRESS WHO GRANTED HIM YEAR BY YEAR WITH THE MFN!
-PLEASE,I IMPLORE YOU,TO ASK THE US SENATE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE THE MFN TO THIS HORRIBLE CRIMINAL AGAINST HUMANITY!...

***

FOR ME THERE IS NO WAY OF LIFE WITHOUT PRACTICE MY ART AND WITHOUT MARRY MY DEAR FIANCE ROXANA BADESCU!
WE ARE YOUNG AND AS ALL YOUTHS OF THIS EARTH,WE LOVE EACH OTHER!
WHICH LAW OF THIS WORLS FORBIDE THE YOUTHS TO FALL IN LOVE AND TO GET MARRIED?
THE FAMILY IS THE PILLAR OF THE NATIONS, SINCE THE HUMAN SOCIETY IS FOUNDED!
I CAN LIVE ANYMORE WITHOUT GET MARRY WITH ROXANA IN NEW YORK!
IF I WILL NOT BE GRANTED EXIT VISAS UNTIL AUGUST 1980,
---I WILL SET FIRE ON MY SELF IN FRONT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN BUCHAREST ON AUGUST 23,1980!
PLEASE, ANNONCE THE FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS IN BUCHAREST,ABOUT.
PLEASE,ANNONCE THE US SENATE, ABOUT!
PLEASE ANNONCE THE US SENATORS OF NEW YORK -MY FIANCE'sSITY,ABOUT.
PLEASE ANNONCE THE HONORABLE SENATOR HENRY M JACKSON,ABOUT!
PLEASE, ANNONCE THE US CONGRESS COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATIO ABOUT AND ALL NEW YORK's REPRESENTATIVES.
PLEASE,ANNONCE EACH HUMAN BEING OF GOOD WILL,ABOUT.
PLEASE,LIGHT A CANDEL FOR MY UNHAPPY SPUL AND PRAY GOD TO FORGIVE ME!

***

THERE WILL BE A ROMEO AND JULIETTE UNHAPPY LOVE STORY OF OUR 20CENTUR
MY FIANCE ROXANA BADESCU WILL PUT HER SELF FIRE ON IN FRONT OF THE UN IN NEW YORK CITY ON AUGUST 23,1980,TOO!
ON THE SAME OUR WHEN I WILL DO SO IN BUCHAREST!
THE YOUTHS OF ALL OVER THE WORLD WILL LEARN AFTER,THATH,IN THE CENTURY WHEN THE HUMAN BEING LANDED ON THE MOON, AN YOUNG ROMANIAN ARTIST -MIHAI IONESCU-SET HIM SELF ON FIRE BECAUSE HE CAN NOT LIVE ANYMORE WITHOUT PRACTICE HIS ART AND WITHOUT MARRY HIS FIANCE ROXANA BADESCU WHO SET HER SELF ON FIRE ON THE SAME DAY ON THE CAPITAL OF THE

WORLD, NEW YORK CITY.
THE YOUTHS OF ALL OVER THIS WORLD WILL LEARN ABOUT BUCHAREST, THE CAPITAL OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA WHERE 2o.000.000 INHABITANTS WHO ARE NOT COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS ARE TERRORISED BY 2.000.000. OF COMMUNIST PARTY's MEMBERS, THEY WILL LEARN ABOUT "THE STALINIST TIRRANT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, AND ABOUT THE FACT THATH US SENATE GRANTED HIM WITH THE MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE SINCE 1975 to 1980, YEAR BY YEAR, ON THE GROUND OF NICOLAE CEAUSESCU"s "HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD" INCLUDED THE SELF SET ON FIRE IN BUCHAREST OF A YOUNG ROMANIAN ARTIST NAMED MIHAI IONESCU AND IN THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLS NEW YORK CITY, OF HIS FORCED SEPARATED FIANCE ROXANA BADESCU!...
LET THATH THE IMAGE OF OUR SELVES SET ON FIRE IN TWO DIFFERENTS CITIES OF THIS TROUBLED EARTH, TO LIGHT FOR EVER THE SOULS OF YOUTHS ALL EVER THE WORLD, AS A REMINDER, AS A MIRROR OF " THE HUMAN RIGHTS" IN OUR 20 CENTURY!...
MAY GOD FORGIVE US!
MAY THATH THE YOUTHS DO LIGHT A CANDEL FOR OUR UNHAPPY SOULS!...

VERY SORRY, BUT DESPERATELY AND UNHAPPY FOR EVER
YOURS
ss MIHAI IONESCU

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE SENATORS,
****

WE DO NOT NEED A NEW ROMEO AND JULIETTE DRAMATIC LOVE STORY OF OUR 2o CENTURY. THE NEW ONE, WITH US SENATE INVOLVED IN BY GRANTED TO THE CRIMINAL AGAINST HUMANITY NICOLAE CEAUSECU OF ROMANIA WITH THE MOST FAVORED NATION"s CLAUSE ON THE GROUND OF HIS-IQUOTED- "HUMAN RIGHTS"RECORD WITH FACTS LIKE THE SELVES SET ON FIRE OF TWO YOUTHS
I DO NOT WISH TO LIGT THE ASKED CANDEL FOR THEIR UNHAPPY SOULS!
PLEASE, STOP ME TO DO SO, RIGHT NOW! BY LOCK UP MY HANDS WITH YOUR VOTE OF DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE TO THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, UNTIL:

1.- ALL HOSTAGES RELATIVES OF US CITIZENS AND US RESIDENTS LIVING OVER THERE AND WOULD BE EMIGRANTS IN ORDER TO REUNIFY THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES, WILL BE SET FREE!
2.- NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WILL ISSUE A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
3.- ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL BE SET FREE!
4.- PROFESOR Dr REVEREND GHEORGHE CALCIU DUMITREASA AND ALL REVERENDS, PASTORS, PREDICATORS, RABBIES AND BELIEVERS OF ALL KIND OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION WILL BE RELEASED FROM JAILS, PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS AND FORCED LABOR CAMPS!
5.- THERE WILL BE ABOLISH THE PUNSHMENT WITH CONFINEMENT TO THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
6.- THE YEARS SERVED IN POLITICAL JAILS, FORCED LABOR CAMPS OR PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS BY POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE WILL BE TAKE IN CONSIDERATION AS"YEARS SERVED IN THE LABOR FIELD"ON THE RETIREMENTPLAN OF EACH INDIVIDUAL OR IN THE CASE OF DECEASED PERSON, IN THE PLAN OF PENSION OF VIDOWED WIFE OR OF ORPHAN CHILDREN.
7.- THE PROCEEDINGS OF EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA WILL BE SIMPLIFIED IN RESPECT OF THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF THE MFN TOP BASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA, AND THE WOULD BE EMIGRANTS WHO ARE ON THE REPRESENTATION LIST OR ON US SENATE OR ON US CONGRESS COMMISSION ON

SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE-INSTEAD TO WAIT INTERMINABLE MONTHS OF FEAR AND PRESSURE UNTIL CAN OBTAIN THE APPLICATION FORMS TO PIK UP THE SO CALLED" BIG FORMS FOR EMIGRATIONS" DIRECTELY FROM THE US CONSULATE OF BUCHAREST WHICH MUST BE ENTITLE TO DO SO, BY ASKING THE MENTIONED"BIG FORMS" FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA'sGOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION ON VISAS AND PASSPORTS AND TO HANDLE ITS TO THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE ON THE ABOVE MENTIONED US OFFICIAL LISTS OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNIFICATIONS!

***

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU's"HUMANISM" in MATTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS
****

HAVING THEIR APPLICATIONS FOR EXIT VISA FOR THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES DENIED, MORE AND MORE DESPERATE PEOPLE, TRIED AND STILL ARE TRYING TO CROSS ILLEGALLY THE ROMANIAN BORDERS.

SINCE THERE IS A NEW LAW WHICH, IMPOSED BY UN, PROVIDE ONLY "FINES" FOR"THE ATTEMPT OF CROSSING ILLEGALLY THE ROMANIAN BORDER" NICOLAE CEAUSESCU INVENTED "SOMETHING MORE HUMANISTIC": HE ORDERED TO THE BORDER GUARDS AND SECURITY'sOFFICERS AND MILITARY ON DUTY TO SHOT DOWN DIRECT IN HIS HEAD ANY WOULD BE ILLEGALLY PASSER OVER THE BORDER. BECAUSE, ARGUED NICOLAE CEAUSESCU IN HIS ADRESS TO BORDER GUARDS" THERE IS MORE HUMANISTIC TO SHOT SOMEBODY TO DEATH IN HIS HEAD THAN TO PIK UP HIM AND TO BEAT HIM UP!...

THE TRIANGLE OF BLOODEST BRAINS
****

THE INHABITANTS LIVING AROUND UIVAR VILLAGE DISTRICT OF TIMIS GAVE THIS NAME TO THAT CORNER OF ROMANIA'sCOUNTRY SIDE, BECAUSE, OVER THERE THE BORDER GUARDS AND SECURITY'sOFFICIER IN EXECUTYING NICOLAE CEAUSESCU'sORDER, ARE SHOTYING DIRECT ON THEIR HEADS WITHOUT ANY WARNING THE WOULD BE ILLEGALLY PASSER OVER BORDER!

AS Mr IOAN LISCA A NATIVE OF UIVAR WITNESSED , IN 1979 WERE SHOTED TO DEATH DIRECT IN THEIR HEADS BY BORDER GUARDS"ONLY" 65MEN and 26 WOMEN!...

THE SECURITY USE TO BRING OVER BY FORCE ALL INHABITANTS FROM AROUND TO SEE AND TO TELL TO ANYBODY WHAT WILL HAPPENTO THE ONE WOULD BE AN ILLEGALLY PASSER OVER THAT POINT OF ROMANIAN JUGOSLAVIAN BORDER. IF SOMEBODY SURVIVES THEN WILL BE PUT ON PUBLIC TRIAL IN FRONT OF ALL UIVAR's INHABITANTS. BUT THE CASE OF SURVIVORS WERE RARES...

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE SENATORS,

****

STOP RIGHT NOW THIS CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY!
SAVE THE LIVES OF ROMANIAN YOUTH!
DO NOT SUPPLY ANY MORE THE BULLETS OF CRIMINALS BORDER GUARDS OF UIVAR VILLAGE DISTRICT OF TIMIS BY MOST FAVORED NATION's CLAUSE!
[illegible]
DESTROY FOR EVER " THE TRIANGLE OF BLOODEST BRAINS!
BY YOUR VOTE OF TODAY!
BY STOPINING THE MOST FAVORED NATION'sCLAUSE TO NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS GOVERMENT OF MURDERERS!
AND GOD WILL BLESS YOU!

DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU
D G Apostoliu
PRESIDENT
" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL
COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

THE AMERICAN ROMANIAN COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES
(ARCAR)
50 West 89th Street,New York,N.Y.10024

July 21,1980

LIST OF RELATIVES,WHO INTEND TO JOIN THEIR FAMILIES IN U.S.A.

Name of sponsor in U.S.A.	Names and addresses of relatives in Romania,who were refused exit papers
1.ELENA ALEXIU, Cond.Entr. 33-34 - 29th Str,Apt.R3 Astoria,N.Y. 11103	Gheorghe G.STOICA,fiance Str.Galiceni No.33 București- Romania
2.BALANEANU,Elena:U.S.Cit. 186 Springs Oaks Drive Wood Dale,Ill.61911	ASTILEANU,Alexandru: brother ASTILEANU,Olga - siter in Law ASTILEANU,Robert - nephew Str,Tinceni No. 8,bloc 18,et.9,apt.56 București- Romania
3.BARBOS,Filim n,Cond.Entr. 33505 - Pardo Garden City,Mich.48135	BARBOS, Viorica - wife BARBOS, Claudiu-Aurelian - son 4 years BARBOS, Claudia-Maria - daughter 2 years StrBazosu-vechi No.75 Comuna Recaș,jud. Timis - Romania
4.Dr.[illegible],Ludmila,perm. resid. Blvd.Medic School 85 Southerl No.38 Brookli 02145	TOPOR,Dumitru - PH.D. in Chemistry -brother TOPOR,Letiția - PH.D. in Chemistry-sister TOPOR,Gabriel - nephew-12 years oldin Law Str.Crinului No.26-32,Apt.50 București- Romania
5.CARAGIU Elena esid. 15 Verm enue New York 034	EICHMAN,Herman - Retired- father ECHMAN, Eliza - " -mother Alea Obcina-mică No. 1,bloc 2,et.3,ap 19 Bucuresti- Romania - Sect.7
6.CURTEAN, Thomas:US Cit. 328 Cherry Lane Hobart,Ind. 46342	BASARABA,Ilie - nephew - 23 years BASARABA,Letiția- niece - 24 years Com.Boița,jud.Sibiu- Romania

.....//.....

Name of sponsor in USA	Names and addresses of relatives in Romania, who were refused exit pappers
7. DUMITRESCU,A.Octavian Cond.entr. 67-02 Selfridge Str. Forest Hills,N.Y. 11375	DUMITRESCU,Laura - wife DUMITRESCU,MONA -daughter - 6 years DUMITRESCU,Mircea N. - son - 2 years Str.Tunari No.15 - București-Romania
8. FANOUS, Anca : US.cit. 102-55 - 67th Road Apt. 3V Forest Hills,N.Y.11375	STOICESCU,Silvia - mother STOICESCU, Valentina - siter Str.Călușei No.40 - Sect. 3 București- Romania
9. GHENTA,Mihai,Perm res. 67-67 Burns Street Forest Hills,N.Y.11375	GHENTA,Georgeta - wife GHENTA,Mihai- son - 6 years old GHENTA,A.M.Cristina-Daughter - 4 years. Str.Mozart No.12,Apt. 1 București- Romania,Sector. 1
10. IONESCU,Elena: US cit. 25-23 31st Avenue Apt. 31 Astoria,N.Y.11106	IRESCU-IARU, Mihaela (Mihaela) - daughter Str,Colaborării No.2 Scara B,Apt.No.6 1900 Timisoara - Romania
11. IONESCU, Gheorghe,cond. entrant 41-18 48th Str. Sunnyside,N.Y.11104	IONESCU,Ecaterina - daughter IONESCU,Ioan-Mihai - son Str.Sirenelor No.71 București- Romania - Sector 5
12. IONESCU,Vlaic[illegible].Cit. 615 Oak Hill [illegible] Middletown,N.J. 07748	TEODORESCU,Tudor - nephew - architect 28 years Str.Cantemir No.15 Cluj-Napoca 3400-Romania
13. SERBU,Radu -perm res. 9823 Lake avenue Apt. 405 Cleveland Ohio 44102	SERBU, Bogdan-Radu - 5 years old, son Str.Lânei No.13 A C/O Mr.Serbu Sr. 2400 Sibiu- Romania

The V.Rev. F.M. Galdau

The Very Rev.F.M.Galdau
Chairman

July 21, 1980.

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff,
Chairman of the subcommittee on International Trade
of the Finance Committee,
United States Senate,
2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Sir:

I wish to respectfully bring to your kind attention the following:

The Communist Government of Rumania signed and took upon itself the obligation to respect the "HUMAN RIGHTS" - but they are not fullfilling it.

I together with a great number of Rumanian emigrants, but today American Citizens, are accusing that Government of violating those same "Human Rights", viz: creating a great many difficulties to obtain emigration permits, confiscation of property, discriminations and persecutions.

Because of those confiscations, we arrived in the USA devoid of all means of support, with nothing but our Will to work.

It is surely the conviction of all right thinking people of this great land who are imbued with justice, that no country should simply expropriate its people, as did Rumania. People who, for one reason or another, were forced to flee persecution and emigrate peacefully.

At present Rumania is asking for preferential treatment from the USA. We declare that we are totally opposed to extending the Rumanian Communist Government this privilege and in defense of our interest as American Citizens, we wish to propose as conditions the following:

AMENDMENT

"The Communist Government of Rumania must undertake the obligation to pay by special guaranteed arrangement through an American Bank in the U.S.A. to the American Citizens, ex Rumanian Citizens who left Rumania after 1946, the today's value of their properties and rights which were confiscated without payment when and after they left Rumania, properties which were passed into the possession of the Rumanian Communist Government by special decree in December 1974, after or before, even when those citizens were forced by all kind of pressures to sign a "voluntary renoucement"

Respectfully Yours

Isidore Berger Safiano
Personally and for the others

6039 Collins Ave.
Miami Beach, Fl. 33149

naca

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS ASSOCIATION
THE MADISON BUILDING
1155 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005
202 · 296-1585
Cable: NAGROCHEM

William A. White
Vice President

July 18, 1980

The Honorable Abraham Ribicoff
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
U.S. Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

Your Subcommittee is considering a Presidential recommendation to continue the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic and the Peoples Republic of China and to extend the waiver authority under the Trade Act of 1974. The Subcommittee continues to be concerned with, among other things, the balance of concessions in trade and services under the Trade Agreement with Romania and Hungary. The National Agricultural Chemicals Association (NACA) wishes to comment for the record and to make certain recommendations which the Subcommittee may wish to consider.

NACA is a nonprofit membership trade association organized under the laws of Delaware in 1933 and incorporated in 1934. NACA is interested in advancing the level of public understanding of the value of pesticides in the production of food and fiber, in fostering legislation which will promote the safe and proper use of industry products, and in encouraging continuing research for new products. NACA member companies, about 120 in number, produce, formulate and sell most of the pesticides used for agricultural production in the United States. Forty of these companies are engaged in research and development ("R&D") to meet the needs of the world's farmers for safe and effective pesticides.

NACA comments and recommendations are set forth in the attached statement.

Very truly yours,

W A White

W. A. White

Attachment

WAW:etb

STATEMENT OF THE
NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS ASSOCIATION
BEFORE THE
INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE CONCERNING A PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE THE WAIVERS APPLICABLE TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA, THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO EXTEND THE WAIVER AUTHORITY UNDER THE TRADE ACT OF 1974

July 21, 1980

The National Agricultural Chemicals Association (NACA) is a trade association, many of whose members engage in extensive research and development to create new products to protect crops and improve their yields. It is difficult to invent a new compound effective against the target disease, pest or weed, or which produces the desired effect on the growth of the plant. Further, the new compound must also have no adverse effect on the crop, be safe for humans and the environment, and economical to use. Because of the huge investment in these inventions, they are heavily protected by patents around the world.

Our agricultural chemical industry is among the few American high technology industries where we still have a clear lead over foreign competition. Our products are in great demand all over the world. Last year our exports brought in over a billion dollars and have been growing at a rate of 20 percent a year. But this success and our ability to continue to invest substantial amounts in research and development is almost totally dependent on respect for our industrial property rights.

The trade agreements which the Committee is considering today bind the parties to respect each other's industrial property rights and to provide parties of the other country with the same treatment they provide their own nationals. These mutual concessions are fundamental to the development of bilateral trade and the free flow of technology. But trade agreements must be more than formal statements. The mutual concessions must have meaning in practice. It is on this point that NACA wishes to comment.

Romania

The American agricultural industry has found that both Romanian law and practice discriminate against U.S. firms with respect to patents for chemical inventions. Romanian law provides that chemical compound patents can be granted to socialist state organizations, but not to others, including our companies. Further, as a matter of practice, "composition" patents -- those covering mixtures of chemical compounds -- will not be issued to American companies but are available to Romanian entities.

It is our belief that the intent of the trade agreement is that a U.S. firm be able to obtain in Romania the same industrial property rights protection that is granted in Romania to a Romanian chemical producer.

We understand that the State and Commerce Departments raised this with the Romanian authorities and got a very favorable response. Apparently they are redrafting their patent law and expressed a willingness to drop the provisions which limit chemical compound patents. If this is done and such patents become practically obtainable, a possible serious imbalance in trade concessions will be avoided. We believe the very constructive attitude of the Romanian government should be commended.

We recommend that the Committee monitor progress in this area, and take appropriate action in the unlikely event that the problem is not resolved.

Hungary

The Committee will recall that we first called its attention to problems our companies were having obtaining patents for our products in Hungary and with infringing sales in third countries two years ago when the trade agreement was ratified. The Committee expressed its hope that, under the then new trade agreement, the problems would abate. Last year we felt constrained to appear and report to the Committee that matters appeared to have gotten worse. After strong statements by this Committee and significant efforts by both governments, the situation has improved somewhat.

During the year there has been definite progress in one area of basic concern -- the question of the ability of American agricultural chemical companies to obtain patent protection for their inventions in Hungary. One NACA member company has succeeded in obtaining a Hungarian patent after protracted efforts. In addition, Hungarian patent officials have indicated, unequivocally, that agricultural chemical compositions are indeed patentable under Hungarian law.

However, we understand the issue may not be resolved u[illegible] he Hungarian Supreme Court rules on the matter in a case [illegible] is presently pending before it.

We must note that during the period when these positive steps were taking place, several new challenges against the Hungarian patents covering American proprietary agricultural chemicals have taken place. These challenges follow the same fallacious arguments advanced previously, that is, that agricultural chemical compositions are not patentable under Hungarian law. NACA is not sure of the significance of these challenges. Were it not for the statement of patent officials and the important agreement reached by one NACA member company, one could conclude we were no nearer to a solution to the issue.

In summary, it appears that we are moving slowly toward a possible resolution of the basic issue of patentability of the agricultural chemical compositions -- one which will recognize these inventions and provide the protection warranted.

In the associated issue of respect for industrial property rights in third countries, the picture is somewhat mixed. Some of our member companies have held discussions with the Hungarian chemical industry, and it appears that, as a result, certain activities have ceased. The most serious unresolved problem involves a U.S. company which in 1977 became aware of a Hungarian firm selling a product to countries where the U.S. company holds patent rights on the same product. The firm does not contest the right of the

Hungarian firm to manufacture the product in Hungary where the U.S. firm does not hold patents, or to export it to countries where the U.S. firm does not have patent rights. The disagreement involves the propriety of the Hungarian entity shipping or permitting shipment to third countries where the U.S. firm has patent rights. This company contends the Hungarian enterprise is in violation of Paragraph 4 of the Agreed Minute of the ad hoc Working Group of the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee by insisting on the right to continue to export to third countries where it has long-term supply agreements. Even though the long-term supply commitments violate the company's patent rights in the country, the company has offered to assume the Hungarian firm's obligations to its customer. This company has had continuing discussions with the Hungarian company in one last effort to determine whether a commercial agreement is possible. The company, however, does not believe that the outlook for a settlement is favorable and Hungarian exports in violation of the company's patent rights continue.

In view of the progress being made in resolving this serious trade problem, NACA would not, at this time, recommend that the waiver not be extended, but would like to suggest that the Committee continue to monitor the situation during their annual MFN hearing. NACA believes the Committee should request that the Commerce and State Departments continue their efforts to reach a resolution which adequately protects American industrial property rights and insures fair treatment of both sides under the trade agreement.

Progress should be reported to the Committee so that appropriate action on the trade agreement can be taken.

Peoples Republic of China

Our Association would also like to strongly support the extension of MFN treatment to the Peoples Republic of China. In so doing, we would like to note that China is presently developing a patent law and system to support the expansion of trade. Such a system will greatly facilitate technical and scientific exchanges and transactions between high technology companies, like our members, and the PRC. Without a comprehensive patent system, private firms would be reluctant to disclose their valuable technology.

We hope the Committee will take a continuing interest in this important part of our developing trade relations with China.

AFRICAN AMERICAL CULTURAL GARDENS ASSOCIATION
P.O. BOX 20213
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44120

July 18, 1980

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, U.S. Senate Chairman
International Finance Committee
Dirksen Senate office Bldg. Rm. 2227
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Jackson,

As Chairman of the African American Cultural Garden Association, I would like to officially endorse the proposal to renew the most favored nation status for Romania.

Rev. Danila Pascu and I have worked together closely over the past five years, and I have learned to appreciate and respect the Romanian Baptist people as a strong link in our quest for freedom for all people. I, too, view our friendship as a strong bridge between East and West that is to be cherished and preserved.

It is my understanding that this proposal encourages the good relationship and interchange between our countries.

Please accept my personal thanks for your anticipated assistance in this very urgent effort.

Respectfully,

Booker T. Tall

Booker T. Tall
Executive Assistant
to Mayor Voinovich

BTT:cds

american baptist churches USA

THE CLEVELAND BAPTIST ASSOCIATION
2246 EUCLID AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115
Phone (216) 241-2380

REV. STANLEY P. BORDEN
Association Minister

July 17, 1980

International Finance Committee
Room 2227
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Attn. Mr. Stern:

Dear Mr. Stern:

I understand that hearings will be held on July 21 on the President's recommendation for a further extension of the authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements as regards the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I have followed this matter with great interest for several years and was gratified that favorable action was taken when it came up two years ago.

I feel that the good trade relations and present emigration policy toward Romania have proved a helpful bridge between East and West in these times when we have tension in so many arenas. The interchange of peoples and contacts between our peoples and the friendly cultivation of Romania are in our own best interests, as well as in the interests of World Peace.

My continued contacts with the active Romanian Baptist community here in Cleveland and in our denomination nationally make me more aware than the average American of this particular concern. I would like to encourage you to vote affirmatively on the extension of the MFN status for Romania.

Very sincerely yours,

Stanley P. Borden
Association Minister

SPB:vbn

STATEMENT

For the benefit of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, on the Presidential Recommendation to continue the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania and to extend the waiver authority under the Trade Act of 1974,

By the Romanian Baptist Fellowship, publisher of the Christian affiliated with the American Baptist Churches of the United States, George Crisan, counsel and editor,9410 Clifton Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio 44102; The Romanian Radio Hour of Cleveland, Ohio, Rev.Danila Pascu.Founder-Director, 9410 Clifton Blvd.,Cleveland, Ohio 44102; Rev.A.S.Lucaciu,Pastor, The Romanian Baptist Church of Detroit, Michigan, 30115 Mayfair Road,Farmington Hills, Michigan 48024; Rev. Peter Floruta, Pastor, The Romanian Baptist Church,Cleveland, Ohio,1918 W 73rd Street, Cleveland, Ohio44102; George Crisan,legal counsel of the organisations and churches,6726 Fairwood Road,Hyattsville,Maryland 20784.

These organisation, favor the Presidential Recommendation to extend the waiver applicable to Romania and the extension of the waiver authority under the Trade Act of 1974.

The organizations and the churches comprise a membership of Romanian-English speaking Baptists of about 2500 members throughout the United States. They maintain the ties with the organisations because of their interest in promoting good will and cooperation between the United States of America and Romania on all maters like trade, cultural and educational exchanges and all the ties of friendship between two nations which would contribute to the peace in the world.

The Romania Radio Hour of Cleveland, Ohio reaches an audience of thousands of people within a radius of 100 miles; these support the Radio program being their best source of information and fellowship with other Baptists.The Christian, a quarterly, has more than two thousand readers in the United States and many readers of Romanian language in 26 countries of the wrold, including Romania.

We have testified in the past and supported the extention of the MFN clause to Romania. We have personal knowledge from our repeated and extensive trips to Romania, that the Romanian Government tries harder than ever to comply with the Treaty Clauses and thus to improve its relations with the United States of America. In our Romanian Baptist churches in the United States we have now more new emigrants than in any other previous years.We recognize that that the process of emigration is slow, however, traditionally, Romania always was against emigration. We observed,howevere, that the Romanian Government has improved its processing of emigrants .

We have individually visited Romania. We were free to visit any church in any community and address our fellow-belieavers without any restriction whatsoever.

We have traveled in the regions inhabited by the Hungarian population and met with Baptist leaders of Hungarian language. At no time or incidence have we been aware or aprised of any discrimination by the Romanian government against the Hungarian minority.

In his visit during the summer of 1979 George Crisan has visited many towns and cities where the Hungarian population is prevalent. e.g.Cluj, Dej, Oradea,etc.Have entered the Catholic churches and found them full of worshipers even in working days of the week. Thousands of small marble tablets were posted on the walls at certain altars,"Thanking God" for listening to the prayers of annonimous believers.These were in Hungarian language,German and even in Romanian.

In Restaurants the Hungarian language was used only.There were daily newspapers in Hungarian language.In Cluj there was an opera and theatre hall for exclusive use of the Hungarian speaking people.

George Crisan attended also Romanian Orthodox churches full of worshipers, old and young .In Cluj he attended an Orthodox Church,which previusly had been Catholic of EasternRite.It was full of worshipers.

The Romanian Catholic church (Uniate) was abolished in 1947 by an act of the Government.It was not restored its legal authorization for functioning.We were persuaded by our official contacts there that it was the Orthodox Church , which comprises the great majority of the people, that opposed the restoration of the Uniate Catholic Churche.As Baptiists believers we hold that each person should be permitted to worship his/her God in his way; thus, we strongly advocate the freedom of thinking and believing.

We apreciate this opportunity to submit this statement recommending the extension of the MFN clause to Romania.

June 21,1980

Rev.Danila Pascu, Directer-Founder of the Romanian Radio Houre of Cleveland,Ohio.

Rev.A.S.Lucaciu,Pastor,The Romanian Baptist Church of Detroit, Michigan.

Rev.Peter Floruta, Pastor the Romanian Baptist Church of Cleveland, Ohio.

Rev.George Crisan,editor of the Christian,Legal Counsel of the organizations.

By George Crisan

George Crisan
Legal Counsel

6726 Fairwood Road
Hyattsville,MD 20784
(301) 773-8233

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 21, 1980

His Excellency Nicolae Ionescu
Embassy of the Socialist
Republic of Romania
1907 23rd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

According to the freedom of emigration requirements in the Trade Act of 1974, it is appropriate to require that a non-market country's emigration performance be a major consideration in the annual renewal of Most Favored Nation trade status. Following the June 10th hearings of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, Members of Congress now have several weeks to ponder the President's recommendation.

Unfortunately, at this time, we can find no real progress in the simplification of emigration procedures, many of which were instituted after MFN was initially granted to your government. There has been no cessation of harassment of potential emigrants which has continued the lengthy separations of many families and affianced couples. While the carefully controlled emigration flow to the United States has been statistically maintained, emigration to Israel, which is by far the largest family reunification base, continues to plummet and now averages only about 60 to 70 individuals per month. This is only one third of the number emigrating to the United States which represents an extraordinary reversal.

We understand that three public commitments made by Romanian Government officials, in connection with Jewish emigration, have not been kept. These are: first, that the Romanian Government would "make application forms readily available and process them expeditiously," secondly, that the Romanian Government would maintain Jewish emigration at the rate of 150 to 200 individuals a month and, thirdly, that the Romanian Government would implement amnesty for former prisoners charged two decades ago.

We are also concerned about the continuing reports of religious repression and the use of psychiatric facilities against persons of dissenting opinions, as well as the cultural restrictions suffered by the Hungarian minority. Along these lines, we are particularly concerned about the fate of Orthodox Priest Gheorghe Calciu and would like to express our desire that Father Calciu be immediately granted amnesty for his alleged crimes.

We believe that the renewal of Most Favored Nation trade status for Romania requires solid evidence of positive moves by your government. In our opinion, this should include an immediate easing of the procedural and intimidational factors which prevent so many people from taking even the initial steps to emigrate, and taking the necessary steps to improve the religious and cultural situation facing deprived religious and ethnic groups.

Sincerely,

Christopher J. Dodd
Silvio O. Conte
Barry M. Goldwater
Robert K. Dornan
William F. Clinger
John H Rousselot
John J Duncan
Tennyson Guyer
Bill Goodling
Jack Kemp
Don Clausen

Jim Hansen

Keith G. Sebelius

Chuck Grassley of Iowa

Jim Jeffries

Daniel E. Lungren

Bob Bauman

K. T. Coleman

Daniel B. Crane

Philip M. Crane

Larry Winn Jr.

Doug Bereuter

John Myers

Steve Symms

Bill Green

G. William Whitehurst

Marjorie S. Holt

Norman D. Shumway

Bill Archer

Delbert Latta

Robert McClory

Hal Sawyer

Bill Dannemeyer

Charles Pashayan Jr.

John Paul Hammerschmidt

Ron Paul

Gene Taylor

Bill Royer

Gerald Solomon

Thomas N. Kindness

Clarence Miller

Bob Whittaker

STATEMENT BY
NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
U. S. SENATE
JULY 21, 1980

The National Machine Tool Builders' Association is a national trade association representating over 370 American machine tool manufacturing companies which account for approximately 90% of United States machine tool production.

Although the total U. S. machine tool industry employs approximately 110,000 people with a combined annual output of around $4.0 billion, most NMTBA member companies are small businesses with payrolls of 250 or fewer employees.

While relatively small by some corporate standards, American machine tool builders comprise a very basic segment of the U. S. industrial capacity, with a tremendous impact on America.

NMTBA, on behalf of the American machine tool industry, is devoting its own resources to the development and maintenance of international markets everywhere in the world. The Association has two people who spend virtually their full time overseas promoting United States machine tool exports.

In this regard, we welcome this opportunity to express our support for a further extension of the President's authority under the Trade Act of 1974 to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under Section 402 and for the continuation of the waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

In 1979 the United States exported approximately $78 million in goods to Hungary and another $500 million to Romania. Overall, our trade with these two nations resulted in a 1979 trade surplus of over $135 million, thereby helping to offset our huge oil-induced trade deficit. These statistics demonstrate that American industries and their employees have much to gain from continued Most Favored Nation (MFN) treatment for, and extension of, Eximbank credits to Romania and Hungary. For example, sales to these countries have in the past yielded trade surpluses at a time when our overall trade balance was showing a deficit. Moreover, recent indications are that Romania and Hungary are expected to be even bigger purchasers of U. S. machine tools in the future.

Turning our attention to the People's Republic of China, in November of 1975, NMTBA's President led a nineteen-man machine tool industry delegation on what was only the second United States IOGA (Industry Organized Government Approved) trade mission to the PRC. Since this initial American machine tool industry venture into the large and expanding Chinese market, NMTBA has sponsored and led four additional IOGA trade missions to the PRC, the most recent being this past spring when representatives of nine NMTBA members journeyed to the PRC to participate in a series of technical symposiums, plant tours and business discussions. During these sessions U. S. machine tool industry representatives discussed specific applications for NMTBA members' products to particular metalworking projects, the technical features of the members' products, and their general use in industry.

NMTBA has also been the official host for buying missions by delegations from the PRC. One of these groups toured NMTBA's 1978 International Machine Tool Show in Chicago and another PRC buying delegation anticipates attending the 1980 Show.

Most recently, NMTBA served as host for a PRC buying delegation which signed a licensing agreement for the manufacturing of rock bit drills produced by a Texas company. The next step in this $200 million project will be the purchase of a substantial number of machine tools for use in the new Chinese rock bit plant. But, however promising prospects such as this are for expanded U. S.-China trade, attaining a level of commerce even close to the current level of expectations will largely be determined by China's ability to pay and our willingness to finance.

Prior to normalization, China's foreign trade corporations were understandably reluctant to purchase from the United States. However, beginning in 1975, total U. S. exports to China increased from approximately $300 million in that year to over $1.7 billion by 1979, with the total trade balance for those years overwhelmingly in the United States' favor. Notably, during this period machinery and transportation exports (a category which includes machine tools) consistently produced U. S. trade surpluses ($227.6 million in 1979 alone). Moreover, U. S. machine tool exports to the PRC have nearly tripled since 1976, with an enormous potential market yet untapped, provided we are always accepted as a reliable trade partner. (See Exhibit A)

In the many contacts we have had with PRC representatives, we have repeatedly been told that they would generally prefer to buy American made machine tools. And, they have on numerous occasions expressed their satisfaction with their recently acquired Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status. However, in conjunction with this MFN status, the U. S. needs to improve its export financing ability so as to make American machine tool builders more competitive with their major foreign counterparts, virtually all of whom have already made government backed credit available for exports to the PRC.

One step which would be of immediate benefit would be an increased availability of credit, particularly Eximbank loans, for the financing of China trade. To this end, we would continue to urge the rapid settlement of outstanding Eximbank claims against the PRC, so as to pave the way for new Eximbank financing. Moreover, in regard to compliance with the provisions of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 concerning such new financing, we strongly recommend, and believe that the above stated trade statistics expressly argue for a Presidential determination that credit extension to the PRC would be in the national interest.

Such government support of export financing, not only with regard to the PRC, but also as it relates to all foreign business, is vitally necessary in order to assure that U. S. manufacturers remain competitive with their heavily government subsidized foreign counterparts.

Therefore, NMTBA respectfully suggests that this Subcommittee give speedy approval to the President's recommendation for the continuation of Section 402 waivers applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China, in accordance with the Trade Act of 1974, as well as to the further extension of Eximbank credits to these countries. Not only would such a policy be of obvious economic benefit to the United States (as is evidenced by the fact that orders of the magnitude sold to Romania, Hungary and the PRC in 1979 were sufficient to account for the output of several hundred machine tool workers for an entire year), but such an approach would give notice that the United States recognizes and gives due weight to the fact that Romania, Hungary and the PRC have taken a relatively independent course in their national policies, as is evidenced by both Romania's and the PRC's support of U. S. protests concerning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

We thank the Subcommittee for its interest in this very important trade issue, and appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement.

EXHIBIT A

TRADE BETWEEN U. S. AND PRC

(Millions of Dollars)

Year	Machine Tools			Machinery & Transportation Equipment			Total Trade		
	Export	Import	Balance	Export	Import	Balance	Export	Import	Balance
1975	$4.7	$0.1	$4.6	$118.8	$0.3	$118.5	$303.6	$158.3	$145.3
1976	$2.1	$0.2	$1.9	$ 65.1	$1.3	$ 63.8	$135.4	$201.9	$-66.5
1977	$3.5	$0.5	$3.0	$ 51.9	$0.6	$ 51.3	$171.3	$202.7	$-31.4
1978	$6.0	$0.3	$5.7	$ 93.0	$0.5	$ 92.5	$818.2	$324.0	$494.2
1979	$9.3	$0.5	$8.8	$228.7	$1.1	$227.6	$1,716.5	$592.3	$1,124.2

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Industry &
Trade Administration
National Machine Tool Builders' Association
11-1-79

Isidoro B.Safiano.
6039 Collins Ave.Ap.701
Miami Beach.Fla.33140

July 9th,1980.

Honorable Congressman Claude Pepper,
712 House Annex 1.
Washington, D.C.20515.

Dear Honorable Congressman C.Pepper:

10 A.M.
Hearing July 21st.,1980.
Subcomm.on Internat.Trade.
Finance Comm. U. S. Senate
Chairman:
Hon.Sen.Abraham Ribicoff,
Dirksen Off.Bdg.Room2221.

This is our supreme moment.
Our claim against Rumania for our confiscated properties there. OUR AMENDMENT to be included as a condition to be granted to Rumania "The Status of the most favored Nation".

Your direct support at this "Hearing" will be a great help for us.

There will be no other opportunity to impose to Rumania to pay pay us for our confiscated properties in Rumania,

Confiscations done against all the HUMAN RIGHTS.

At this hearing myself and another of us will be present and declare as witnesses, as we asked for. His name is Jacques Lafia.

Your personal Honorable presence at this "Hearing" will be [illegible] for us.

We are thankful to your Honour for helping us all the time from the beginning, as also with the words: "Recognition is a form of Justice" and hopefully in your words; we think that:

" Justice will be done "

GOD give you health anf force to continue to work for the benefit of yours "OLD PEOPLE WORK" as well for the others.

I remain

Very sincerely yours

Isidoro B. Safiano

Copy to:Office Miami

Isidoro B. Safiano .
6039 Collins Ave. Apt. 701
Miami Beach.Fla.33140.
864-9678.

July 7th.1980.

Honorable Member of Congress
Claude Pepper
House of Representatives .
Washington, D.C. 20515.

Dear Honorable Claude Pepper:

Audience July 21st.80.
"Human Rights"
vs.
Soc. Repl. Rumania.

July 21st.1980: a very important day for us.

I was informed that on this day a Senatorial Committee will hold an audience and receive complaints based on the fact that the "Socialist Republic Rumania" doesn't respect the dispositions of the "United Nations' Charter on " Human Rights ", but on the contrary asking favours from the United States of America, amongst others : " The Status of the most-favored-Nation ".

Your Honor knows the complain in my name and in the name of many ex Rumanian citizens, TODAY AMERICAN CITIZENS with our claims against that Communist country, to pay us here the value of our confiscated properties in Rumania, when we left that country during the years after 1946, as showed in our enclosed claim with our proposed Amendment.

We are always counting on your valuable help to present and sustain us again,including the proposed Amendment as obligatory for Rumania.

If it is your Honour's advice, I would like to be present at this audience, as it is of my knowledge that other representants of Rumanian emigrants will be heard for other kind of complaints against the Rumanian Government in relation with not respecting this country the "Human Rights".

Please, let me be informed if I shall go to Washington that day and also if with anticipation I could have the honour to be received by your Honour here or in Washington for some good advices concerning my presence at that hearing.

Always thankful and respectfull, I remain

Very sincerely yours

Copy to Washington's office.

Isidoro B. Safiano
Personally and in the name of other

6039 Collins Ave.Apt.701.
Miami Beach.Fla.33140.
1-(305)864-9678

June 20th,1980.

"The Human Rights"
vs.
The Socialist Republ.Rumania.

At the beginning of this year I took the initiative in my name and also in the interest of more than 100.000.- Rumanian emigrants, TODAY AMERICAN CITIZENS, all dispossessed of our properties and rights in Rumania, when we left this Communist Country during the years after 1946.

In despair we appeal to your Honor to sustain our request as follows, with the purpose to rescue the value of our confiscated properties, as we were really robbed by that Rumanian Communist Government.

The Socialist Republic Rumania solicited this month to be prolonged for once more year, or even permanently, " The Status of the most-favored-Nation ", very important and vital for them.

In the defense of our interest, we are proposing as condition the following

AMENDMENT

" The Socialist Republic Rumania must take the obligation to
" pay by special guaranteed arrangement through an American
" Bank in U.S.A. to the American Citizens, ex Rumanian citizens
" who left Rumania after 1946, the today's value of their pro-
" perties and rights, which were confiscated without payment
" when and after they left Rumania, properties which were
" passed in the property of the Rumanian Communist Government
" by a special Decree in December 1974 or before, even when
" these citizens were forced by all kind of Communist pressures
" to sign a " Voluntary Renouncement ".

It will be up to the " Committee on Ways and Means " and afterwards to higher Committees in the Congress and Senate to study the request of Rumania and carefully weigh it against the " HUMAN RIGHTS" performance and other grievances,together with the United States citizens' interests.

Several Members of Congress and Senate, to whom we spoke and also addressed letters for help, expressed their oppinion that a country should not simply expropriate its people without pay, people who for one or another reason were forced to emigrate peacefully.

We pray and we hope that your Honor will patronize my Amendment with the purpose to obtain from the Communist Government of Rumania guarantees for fair remuneration and the right value of our confiscated properties.

If announced in time, I am at the disposition of any appointed Committee to present myself in Washington for a complete verbal deposition and accusation against the Socialist Republic Rumania for this matter.

I hope that my request will be sustained by your Honor and many other Members of Congress and Senate.

I remain yours truly

Isidore B. Safiano
Personally and for the others.

Isidoro P. Safiano.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC RUMANIA DOESN'T RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS.

Some proofs:

1) The Decree # 233 dated Dec.3d.,1974 is still in force.
(See copy and some translation).

2) They didn't pay the value of the confiscated properties belonging to the people who left Rumania after 1946.

3) The persons who wanted to leave Rumania were forced to sign a "Voluntary Renouncement" for all their properties.

4) If they had the chance that the Government wanted to buy their property, the people had to accept the official appreciation, which was 10% of the real value.

5) That money had to remain in Rumania or only to pay for the airplane ticket.

6) They can't take nothing out, only a handbag.

7) The persons leaving the country are loosing all the money retained for pensions,etc.

8) The persons asking for the passport to leave the country have to wait more than an year, and in the meantime their are losing their job, salary, pension, medicare, etc.

9) They have also to leave the apartments rented by the Government.

10) They can't take out any kind of money out of the country.

11) They are under constant Police control and have no right to travel inside the country.

12) It is proved that there exists a Censure for letters coming from outside and many letters are not delivered.

13) All the foreigners going to Rumania to visit their families are there under constant suspicion, as also the remaining families.

14) All kind of discriminations.

15) There still exists a covered Antisemitism.

16) No person belonging to the Jewish Community could be Minister, Diplomat or in other high position.

[illegible]: No Freedom, no right to free expression, no respect for HUMAN RIGHTS

There is no free life, only a kind of Slavery.

One has to hear to the emigrants and the life in Rumania is not how it is presented by the Rumanian Authorities to the American Delegations when they are going to that Communist Country for some reason.

BEFORE THE
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

JULY 21, 1980

HEARINGS ON CONTINUING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS TO ROMANIA UNDER THE TRADE ACT OF 1974

STATEMENT
OF
EDWARD L. MERRIGAN
ON BEHALF OF JOHN TUDOR, IN OPPOSITION TO CONTINUATION OF MFN STATUS TO ROMANIA UNTIL IT COMPENSATES U.S. CITIZENS FOR THE TAKING OF THEIR INHERITED PROPERTY IN VIOLATION OF THE CONSULAR CONVENTION OF 1972

My name is Edward L. Merrigan. I am an attorney at law, duly admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, the District of Columbia, Louisiana, Maryland and New York. I appear here today on behalf of Mr. John Tudor, a U. S. citizen who resides in the City and State of New York and who has a very substantial claim against the Government of Romania for the uncompensated taking of his inherited property — the Orghidan coin collection — in violation of the Consular Convention of 1972 between the United States and Romania.

Over the years 1975, Mr. Tudor has constantly asserted and pressed his claim for either the return of this valuable property or reasonable compensation therefor. His claim is supported by the opinions of numerous international law experts who certify (a) that Mr. Tudor is the lawful heir and owner of the Orghidan collection and (b) that Romania's taking of that collection, without provision for just compensation to Mr. Tudor, plainly violates the Consular Convention of 1972 between the United States and Romania.

The State Department, in turn, has repeatedly advised members of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee that it has constantly pressed the Romanian government, both here in Washington and in Romania, for recognition and payment of Mr. Tudor's claim. Senators Javits and Moynihan of New York wrote directly to the Ambassador of Romania insisting that his government "resolve Mr. Tudor's claims with dispatch." Chairman Long of this Committee, in response to requests received from the Senators from New York, has similarly urged both the State Department and Romania to settle this patent violation of the Consular Convention without further delay. In his letter to the State Department, Chairman Long recently stated:

> "In 1974, when Czechoslovakia, one of Romania's neighbors in Eastern Europe, failed to provide just compensation to U. S. citizens for properties that nation had seized or taken, Congress acted to withhold preferential benefits under the Trade Act until Czechoslovakia agrees to provide adequate compensation. In my judgment, that action was in the best interests of the United States and its citizens.
>
> "Certainly, Romania which has heretofore reaped the benefits of preferential trade status under the Act, should not insist on instituting short-sighted, confiscatory policies with reference to properties belonging to U. S. citizens which threaten to put it in the same unfortunate category as Czechoslovakia under the Trade Act.
>
> "Accordingly, Mr. Secretary, would you be good enough to give this important matter your attention

> at this time and take whatever actions are appropriate and necessary to obtain assurances from Romania, as part of the current MFN proceedings, that it will immediately come into compliance with both the Consular Convention and Section 502 of the Trade Act in all outstanding U. S. citizen cases.
>
> "Would you also be good enough to advise what actions have been taken in this regard prior to the hearings the Senate Finance Committee will hold on the Romanian MFN proposals in July."

In January, 1980, I understand a Congressional delegation headed by Chairman Vanik of the House Subcommittee on Trade visited Romania, and actually raised the question of when Romania intended to settle Mr. Tudor's claim with the President of Romania. President Ceausescu assured the Vanik delegation that he would personally look into the matter and endeavor to resolve it. But, seven months have elapsed since those assurances were given by the chief of state of Romania, and still nothing has been done either (a) to release the Orghidan collection to Mr. Tudor or (b) to compensate Mr. Tudor for its retention in Romania. Romania has followed that course albeit on April 2, 1980, Congressman Schulze of the House Subcommittee wrote to President Ceausescu stating:

> "As you are aware, I was one of several members of Congress who recently travelled to your country for the purpose of discussing bi-lateral relations between our two nations.
>
> "At that time, I indicated my interest in the resolution of the long-standing issue involving the inheritance rights of Mr. John Tudor (Ion Ungureanu) who is an American citizen and who continues to desire, as I do, that this matter be resolved in an amiable fashion.
>
> "In my judgment, Mr. Tudor has successfully exhibited his full legal and rightful claim to the 'Orghidan Collection' and has filed the appropriate

> documents pursuant to the provisions of the Consular Convention concluded between our two nations on July 6, 1973.
>
> "Since it is necessary for the Congress to renew the MFN 'Waiver' on a yearly basis, I am certain that many members of Congress would very much like to have this issue resolved prior to this year's consideration.
>
> "I look forward to hearing from you or a representative of your Government in the near future."

To date, there has been no reply to that letter, although Congressman Conable, the ranking minority member of the House Subcommittee, added his written support to this letter to the President of Romania.

The Romanian Government is here today asking the people of this country, through their Congress, to do it a favor — to give the Romanian government most-favored-nation treatment. The rationale in extending to Romania this singular favor is in order to encourage Romania to pursue a foreign policy independent of Moscow, to foster the expansion of economic cooperation between our two countries and to provide the climate in which the United States can expect the Romanian government to be responsive to our deep interest in human rights.

The fact is that Romania is holding property which plainly belongs to Mr. Tudor by inheritance. It is in violation of the Consular Convention of 1972 by reason of its failure to permit him to exercise his inheritance rights. And, it is in violation of the Trade Act of 1974 in that it is unlawfully attempting to assume ownership and control of this property without providing just compensation or without even engaging in good faith negotiations for such compensation.

In this regard, Section 502(b) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2462(b)) specifically provides that the President may not continue to extend benefits under the Trade Act to a beneficiary country —

> "if such country —
>
> "(A) has seized ownership or control of property owned by a United States citizen . . . or
>
> "(C) has imposed . . . other measures with respect to property so owned, the effect of which is . . . to seize ownership or control of such property, unless —
>
> "(D) the President determines that —
>
> "(i) prompt, adequate, and effective compensation has been or is being made to such citizen, or
>
> "(ii) good faith negotiations to provide prompt, adequate and effective compensation under the applicable provisions of international law are in progress, or such country is otherwise taking steps to discharge its obligations under international law with respect to such citizen . . . ."

The time has come when Congress must do something effective not only to preserve the integrity of the Trade Act itself, but to avoid a precedent of acquiescence by the United States in conduct of a foreign nation which has been in contempt of members of the Congress, members of this Committee, and the Department of State of the United States.

Therefore, on behalf of Mr. Tudor whom I represent here today and all other United States citizens similarly situated, it is respectfully recommended that if Romania fails or refuses to honor and negotiate a settlement of the claim of John Tudor that extension of the Section 402 Waiver and renewal of the Section 405 Trade Agreement with Romania be denied.

Edward L. Merrigan
6000 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015
Telephone: 656-0210

DAN G. PAVEL, M. D.
2500 NORTH LAKEVIEW
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614

received 7/14

july 11-th 1980

Subcommittee on International Trade
Senate Finance Committee
Washington ,D.C. 20510

Attn : Mr Frederick David Foster.

Dear Sir.

I Understand that the witness list is already being completed for the upcoming hearings on most favored nation trading status for Romania.

I would have liked very much to be a witness, in order to bring up the flagrant disregard for Human Rights that the romanian government is demonstrating towards my sister Irina Bazilescu who lives in Bucarest, Romania.

Since 2 1/2 years they are trying to obtain a visa to leave Romania and to be reunited with me. Not only are they denied a passport but in addition strong retaliatory measures are taken against them.

I am enclosing a summary sheet containing the unfortunate sequence of events up to the end of June 1980. Please feel free to use this material in any way the Subcommittee may deem necessary.

Please let me know if additional data may be of any help for the Subcommittee.

Yours sincerely,

Dan G. Pavel M.D.
Professor of Radiology / Nuclear Medicine
University of Illinois Medical Center, Chicago
Director of Nuclear Medicine

DAN O. PAVEL, M.D.
2300 NORTH LAKEVIEW
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614

June, 1980

Summary of the situation of my sister, Irina M. Bazilescu, and her family who are denied permission to leave Romania despite repeated requests over the past 2½ years.

The names and addresses of the persons involved are:

Irina M. Bazilescu, M.D.	sister, age 42
Sergiu L. Bazilescu, M.D.	brother-in-law, age 50
Anca Bazilescu	niece, age 11
Ilinca Bazilescu	niece, age 3

Address: 6 Intr. Caragiale, Bucarest, 70207, Romania.

In 1969, I had left Romania for France with a regular passport valid for one year in order to do postgraduate work at my own expense. I did not return to Romania, and subsequently immigrated to the United States and became a U.S. citizen. I am presently Professor of Radiology/Nuclear Medicine and Director of Nuclear Medicine at the University of Illinois Medical Center in Chicago.

Ever since I decided not to return to Romania, I have always hoped that sooner or later I would be able to be reunited with my sister and two nieces as we have always been very close. Unfortunately, since it became known that I would not return to Romania, my sister, Irina M. Bazilescu, M.D., who was working in the same medical school as myself, has suffered continuous hardships due to the fact that "she had a brother in the U.S.A."(!). Indeed she was passed up at the time of promotions, she was not allowed to present a doctorate thesis, and for the past eight years the permission to travel has been systematically denied both to her and to her husband, regardless of the country she was applying for and despite the fact that she wanted to attend professional meetings, and did not even ask for subsidies to attend them. All of this happened even though all along she was considered a top specialist in Rehabilitation Medicine. In 1978 I sent her an official invitation to come to Chicago for postgraduate training in her specialty, with all expenses paid by me. This was also flatly denied to her.

In view of all these facts we decided that, despite the risk of reprisals from the local authorities, there is no other way for her but to ask to depart permanently from Romania and to join me in Chicago. The following paragraphs summarize the sequence of events that followed:

1) In April, 1978, my sister and her husband tried to apply for permanent departure. For three months they were not even given the necessary application forms.

2) In July, 1978, they finally got application forms and on August 15, 1978, they were able to submit them to the Romanian authorities.

3) As soon as the forms were submitted my sister was fired, not only from her academic position in the medical school, but also from her hospital position, and was assigned to an outpatient clinic in an unrelated specialty. This, in effect, ruined her professional activity and goals.

4) In the meantime, I had contacted the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service which approved my visa petition for preference classification for my sister and her family on 8/12/78 (classification 203a5). Following this approval, the U.S. Embassy in Bucarest had notified my sister that everything had been cleared and that she and her family could obtain the immigration visa to the U.S. as soon as they obtained a Romanian emigration visa.

5) Unfortunately, on January 9, 1979, my sister and her husband were notified by the Romanian authorities that their application for an exit visa had been rejected.

6) After many attempts she was able to obtain a hearing on April 20, 1979. The essence of that hearing was the cynical statement, made by the official in charge, that "she had a right to petition for an exit visa, but had no right to expect that she would receive one"(!!). Following this hearing, she sent a memo asking for reconsideration of her visa request, but in June, 1979, she was again told that her request had been rejected. For the rest of the year she has not even been able to obtain any more hearings from the Romanian authorities.

7) In December, 1979, her husband was notified that he was fired from his present position of senior attending physician (psychiatry) in a hospital in Bucharest, and assigned to a hospital located about 150 miles away from his home and family. When he pointed out that this was against the local laws because he had obtained his position by contest over 10 years ago, and that just 3 years ago he had been rated on the first place of the examination for senior attending, he was only scoffed at.

8) After refusing to be separated from his family and being out of work for several months he has tried to ask at least to be allowed to work in a different district where at least a daily lengthy commuting would be possible, but to no avail! He is still out of work.

9) My sister has now been further downgraded and has been assigned as physician at a public swimming pool! All her latest attempts in having the visa refusal reconsidered by the Romanian authorities have been turned down. Recently she was told, by a "benevolent" official, not to try anymore because she has no chances anyway!!

Summary of the situation; For 2½ years my sister and her husband have been denied the authorization to leave Romania. In the meantime both of them have been, and continue to be, submitted to very serious retaliatory measures which affect, not only their professional life, but are meant to gravely disrupt their family life as well. At this point it seems obvious that the Romanian authorities intend to make out of them an example in order to discourage other intellectuals from seeking passports.

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